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RUANDA-URUNDI

GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

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RUANDA-URUNDI

GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

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Translated from the French
by
Goldie Blankoff-Scarr

MAPS

Geological and Pluviometric Map.

Territory of Ruanda-Urundi.

Territorial Organization.

Rudimentary Map for the History of Ruanda and
Urundi.

1) The spellings "Ruanda" and "Urundi" have been kept when referring to the native countries and the residences, although the correct spelling would be "Rwanda" and "Burundi";

2) The official spelling of the names of territorial seats has been maintained; however, since the present document has been written, the territorial organization of the Trusteeship Territory has been greatly modified in order to meet the needs involved in the evolution brought about by its imminent accession to independence.

In Burundi 10 territories are replaced by 18 provinces, whereas in Rwanda prefectures replace the former "chefferies";

3) In the native language the inhabitants of Ruanda and of Urundi are designated by the words Munyarwanda (plural: Banyarwanda) and Murundi (plural: Barundi). In conformity with the usage adopted in specialized works, we shall write a Rwanda, some Rwanda, a Rundi, some Rundi;

4) Likewise, the representatives of the country's three races are called, in the native language, Mututsi (plural: Batutsi), Muhutu (plural: Bahutu), Mutwa (plural: Batwa). Only the roots will be used here, for example: a Tutsi, some Tutsi, a Hutu, some Hutu, a Twa, some Twa;

5) The native languages are called Kinyarwanda and Kirundi. Here again, only the roots will be written: Rwanda or the Rwanda language and, likewise, Swahili and not Kiswahili.

6) In general, the statistics go as far as December 31, 1958.

Moreover, the territory of Gitarama was created on January 1, 1959. Before this date, it was an integral part of the Nyanza territory.

As a result, the statistical tables mention only the Nyanza territory. Therefore, the data included in this column concern the present territories of Nyanza and Gitarama.

All the maps, on the other hand, have been brought up to date and indicate the present-day borders of both territories.

7) The tonnage given in various tables and diagrams is indicated in short tons.

In some instances, the liquid measure has been indicated in cubic feet, this being a standard measure identical in all Anglo-Saxon countries.

CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY

SUMMARY

Situation and Area.

Climate.

Orography.

Hydrography.

Geology.

Natural Regions. — Flora and Fauna.

SITUATION AND AREA

1. — Ruanda-Urundi, situated on the borders of Central and East Africa, lies between the parallels $1^{\circ} 04' 30''$ and $4^{\circ} 28' 30''$ south latitude and between the meridians $28^{\circ} 50'$ and $30^{\circ} 55' 30''$ longitude east of Greenwich. Its total area is 20,945 sq. miles, of which 10,474 belong to Urundi and 10,169 to Ruanda (1).

2. — The Territory is bordered by Uganda to the north, by the Tanganyika Territory to the east and by the Republic of the Congo to the west. Its western boundary is formed by the thalweg of Lakes Tanganyika and Kivu and by the Rusizi River; this is its only continuous natural boundary. Elsewhere, the boundary is formed by river thalwegs linked by conventional straight lines. The Kagera River, to the northeast, the Rumpungwe and the Maragarazi Rivers to the southeast form, however, a large portion of the boundary shared with the Tanganyika Territory (2).

CLIMATE (3).

3. — The climate is characterized by a disconcerting and irregular pattern of rainfall and a temperature varying considerably from one region to another.

4. — The Rusizi and Lake Tanganyika plains enjoy tropical climate. The average temperatures there is 73° F. and the maximum (average) temperature reaches 91° F. It rains relatively little there: average rainfall for the past ten years reached 32 inches (791.6 mm).

5. — The central plateaus have a temperate climate: the average temperature there is 68° F. with a maximum (average) of 78° F. and a minimum (average) of 58° F. Rainfall is more plentiful here and average precipitation reaches 47 inches (1,187 mm).

6. — The Congo-Nile ridge is characterized by a severe climate with an average temperature of 63° F., a maximum (average) temperature

(1) The latest estimates give the figure 20,111 sq. miles instead of 20,915. The old figure has, nevertheless, been kept for the sake of ease, in view of the fact that different detailed estimates of area have not yet been made on the new basis.

(2) In general, Lumpungu, Malagarasi and Ruzizi are written. Here spellings in *r* will be adopted since it is practically impossible to distinguish between *r* and *l* in the native language. As for the last word, the spelling Rusizi corresponds more closely to the native pronunciation.

(3) The isohyetal lines on the pluviometric map are based on measurements in millimeters. One inch = 25.4 millimeters.

of 74° F. and a minimum (average) temperature of 52° F. Rainfall is frequent here and accompanied by sudden drops in temperature; average rainfall during the past ten years was 58 inches (1,462.3 mm).

7. — It should be mentioned that it rains much more in the north-western part of Ruanda, at the same altitude, than on the hills situated more to the south because of the proximity of the volcanoes of the Birunga chain (1). As for the central plateaus, just as the altitude drops from west to east, so the volume of rainfall decreases toward the east where the influence of the climate of East Africa is felt.

OROGRAPHY

8. — The relief of the country is in full evolution and the dividing lines between the hydrographic basins are still not very precise; one notes, among other things, phenomena of river capture proving the relative youth of the relief.

9. — The Congo-Nile ridge abruptly dominates the western boundary of the Territory; it extends from the Ruhengeri region to Bururi. Its peaks rise to an altitude of almost 9,842 ft. in the north and 8,530 ft. in the south. The passes are hardly lower than 6,561 ft.; one pass at 8,202 ft. may be noted between Astrida and Shangugu. This mountain chain, with its peaks already eroded, is formed by a succession of mountain masses 12 to 30 miles in width. This chain comes to an end in the north with the more recent mountain mass of the Birunga Mountains, dominated by a series of volcanic cones, of which one of the peaks, the Karisimbi, highest point in the Territory, reaches an altitude of 14,788 ft.

10. — The altitude of the ridge decreases progressively toward the south: in this direction it comes up against an accident of the ground in the form of a graben: the Maragarazi hollow.

11. — Toward the east, the altitude drops progressively to 5,905 ft., then to 5,249 ft. by a series of tier-shaped plateaus carved out by thalwegs, of which the profiles, narrow and deep toward the west, spread out eastward where they become wide valleys. These plateaus extend into the Tanganyika Territory; they come to an abrupt end with imposing drops at the eastern foot of which there are, in the north, the immense Kagera marshes and, in the south, the hollow of the Maragarazi and of its tributary, the Rumpungwe, which sometimes drops to an altitude lower than 4,593 ft.

12. — The extreme southeast of Ruanda and the northeast of Urundi form hollow basins in which lie several lakes, the Ihema and Rweru lakes among others (2).

(1) This word, either through imitation of Swahili or because of the softened pronunciation of the *b*, is often written Virunga.

(2) Rugwero is generally written.

13. — The extreme west of the country, forming the western slope of the Congo-Nile ridge, belongs to the Congo basin. Several tectonic levels form this border in a north-south direction: they are Lake Kivu at 4,797 ft., the high Rusizi which forms a steep canyon, reaching an altitude of 6,562 ft., the plain of the lower Risizi which lies between 3,609 and 2,625 ft. and finally, the Rusizi delta and Lake Tanganyika, at an altitude of 2,540 ft.

HYDROGRAPHY

14. — One sixth of the hydrographic network belongs to the Congo basin; the remainder is dependent on the Nile basin. It is little developed on the whole and is made up solely of rivers the bed of which overflows forming immense marshes of papyrus or torrents which, often dried out from June to October, swell during the rainy season.

15. — The Congo basin includes, besides torrents which flow directly into Lakes Kivu and Tanganyika, two main feeders: the Rusizi River through which the waters of Lake Kivu flow to Lake Tanganyika, and the Maragarazi River and its tributary, the Rumpungwe, which drains all the southern portion of Urundi. This basin, more favored by the steep mountain slopes which overlook the above-mentioned lakes and by the volume of rainfall, is extremely weathered by intense, regressive erosion which is drawing back its limits toward the east, contending with the Nile for some of its sources.

16. — The Nile basin receives the waters of Ruanda through the Nyabarongo and its main tributary, the Kanyaru, and those of Urundi through the Ruvubu (1). These rivers form the Kagera, primary drain of the network, which flows into Lake Victoria in the Tanganyika Territory. The sources of the Nile, long sought after by explorers and dreamed of by geographers, are consequently in Ruanda-Urundi, since the Kagera is the longest of the rivers flowing into Lake Victoria. The headwaters of the Ruvyironza (2) are the southernmost, the source of the Ruvubu is the farthest away, that of the Nyabarongo the most plentiful.

17. — The secondary hydrographic network is relatively dense in the central and northern part of the country, but the steadiness of its flow is exceptional. Toward the east, and especially in the northeast of Ruanda and in the south of Urundi, the secondary network is not very dense: the water is concentrated in ravines sometimes completely separated from the network.

(1) Nyawarongo or Nyawarungu and Ruvubu are often found; these are erroneous spellings.

(2) The simplified spelling, commonly used, is Luvironza.

GEOLOGY

18. — The very old geological formations which constitute the sub-soil of Ruanda-Urundi may be divided into three systems:

19. — a) The Rusizi system, which is the oldest, represents the crystallophyllian complex and includes an ensemble of varied crystalline schists, of gneiss, of micaschists, of amphibolites with, here and there, masses of feldspathic quartzites. Some granitic masses appear in these formations, especially in Ruanda, along with very numerous veins of muscovite pegmatite and a few dykes of gabbros and of dioritic rock along with the granites in the northwest of Ruanda.

20. — The layers of this system, which are deformed and creased, occupy an immense region which, extending into the western part of the country, is bordered toward the east by a line starting at Lake Nyanza and passing not far from Kitega, Ngozi and Astrida and ending at Lake Kivu, near Rubengera. A few baset zones are, however, situated more to the east: they extend to the east and west of Kigali and near Rwamagana, for instance, following the general direction of the layers north-northwest).

21. — b) The Urundi system, stratigraphically superior to that of the Rusizi, includes principally, in Ruanda, dark schists with or without quartzites, an average level of arkoses passing laterally southward to quartzite cement conglomerates and, toward the north, to more or less coarse quartzites and a higher level made up of dark schists without quartzite intercalations. An immense granitic mass pierces the rocks of this system in the region north of Astrida.

22. — The formations of the Urundi system are best exposed in the Muhinga-Ruyigi regions where they form a vast synclinal valley running northeastward. This direction of the folds interferes with the north-northwestern orientation of the creased formations of the same age and older which crop out in Ruanda, where the lower part of the Urundi system is extensively represented.

23. — The nature of the contact with the Rusizi system cannot yet be specified. Henceforth, it seems that it will be necessary to exclude the principle of the existence of a real discordance between the two systems. But there is a superposition of two metamorphisms, one of which is regional and affects even the Urundian formations and the other, general, affecting only the formations of the Rusizi system. The existence of a tectonic structure is shown by breaks the course of which cannot, however, be discerned precisely apart from the basets where they can be observed.

24. — c) The Rumpungwe system, which is the most recent, is made up of feldspathic sandstone, of psammites of clayey schists, and of limestone with generally dolomitized cherts. This system is represented only

in southeastern Urundi; it is perforated with many dykes and eruptive, basic rock masses. The break which seems to limit it in the northeast must extend in a parallel line along the course of the upper Maragarazi following, for some distance, the course of the Rumpungwe, drawing nearer and nearer to it and then crossing the border not far from the headwaters of this river.

25. — Besides the formations defined above, one finds :

a) Formations probably dating back to the Secondary, which may be assimilated with the Lualaba system, including mostly soft schists and clays which have just been discovered in Kasenyi, on the Rusizi plain. The study of these formations is now being made, but one may foresee that their extension will be limited by very large breaks running along the side of the Rusizi graben;

b) Volcanic lava, especially recent outflows in the northwestern part of Ruanda and older outflows situated in the regions which remained terraced at the time of the recent settling which set apart the Tanganyika-Rusizi portion in the central graben. They are principally basalts with trachytes locally.

c) Alluvia in the lower Rusizi valley, north of Lake Tanganyika and bordering this lake, as well as in the warped valleys of the eastern and southern part of Ruanda and in the Maragarazi valley;

d) Calcareous travertine scattered near lava and hot springs;

e) Granulated laterites, especially on the country's eastern plateaus.

NATURAL REGIONS — FLORA AND FAUNA

26. — Ruanda-Urundi may be subdivided into natural regions which differ in their topography, geology, pedology, climate, agriculture, flora and fauna. They may be divided as follows :

Ruanda.	Urundi.
1. Imbo.	Imbo.
2.	Mumirwa.
3. Impara-Rusenyi.	
4. Budaha.	
5. Bugoyi-Murera.	
6. Buberuka.	
7. Bushiru.	
8. Bufundu-Mugamba.	Bufundu-Mugamba.
9. Rukiga.	
10.	Bututsi.
11. Buganza.	
12. Mugongo.	
13. Bwanamukari.	
14.	Buyenzi.

15.	Kirimiro.
16.	Bweru.
17.	Buyogoma
18. Mutara-Mubari.	
19. Gisaka.	
20. Mirenge.	
21. Bugesera	Bugesera.
22.	Moso.

27. — **Imbo** is the lowest region of the Territory: it is situated between the Rusizi River, Lake Tanganyika and the bench-mark 1,100 m. or 3,609 ft. The average altitude does not go beyond 2,788 ft. and the climate is tropical here. The predominating natural flora is represented by the acacia, the palmyra, the elaeis palm, the euphorbia and the thorny species. The fauna, very plentiful before the region was converted to farming, still includes very varied species: the elephant, hippopotamus, crocodile, wart-hog, cynocephalus, leopard, various species of antelope, much feathered game: guinea fowl, partridge, duck, goose, quail, snipe. Agriculture is devoted to edible crops (manioc, groundnuts, rice, maize, bananas) and to economic speculation (cotton, Robusta coffee, fibers, elaeis palm).

28. — **Mumirwa** is a transition zone between Imbo and the Congo-Nile ridge. Despite its chaotic relief, it is quite suitable for food crops and for coffee. The cynocephalus and potamocheire find refuge in the bushy-herbaceous savanna which constitutes its natural flora. The plain elephants pass here periodically. Thickly wooded forest galleries cover the valleys of the mountainous foothills.

29. — **Impara** and **Rusenyi** form two similar regions situated between Lake Kivu and the ridge forest. The soil there is fertile (it is of volcanic origin) and the climate rather even and humid. The fauna embraces various species of antelope and feathered game (guinea fowl, partridge, duck, goose). Agriculture adds barley and Arabica coffee to the customary food crops (bananas, beans, sorghum, maize, sweet potatoes, peas, eleusine, Colocasia, and groundnuts). The region is covered with immense banana plantations.

30. — **Budaha**, poor and uneven region along Lake Kivu, is hardly suitable for economic crops. Only soya is rather widespread there.

31. — **Bugoyi-Murera**, land of the lava plains, has the most fertile soil in Ruanda-Urundi and an extremely dense population. Around the lake, the climate is temperate, but higher up (6,562 ft. and higher) it is relatively cold and humid. Unfortunately, the region has but few rivers and these are lost in the subsoil. Besides antelope, the country shelters the daman (lava rat). The inhabitants cultivate, besides the usual altitude crops, wheat, soya, coffee, pyrethrum and tobacco. The slopes situated in the low altitude regions of Kanage, along the lake, are really choice areas for the coffee crop.

32. — **Buberuka** is a very uneven region, at a high altitude, with temperate climate in certain areas, but cold and humid around 6,562 ft. Peas, potatoes and barley are successfully grown here.

33. — **Bushiru**, very high altitude region (6,562 ft. and higher), with a cold and humid climate, is partially covered by the primary forest of the volcanic mountains. The fertile region of Buhoma occupies the eastern side.

34. — **Bufundu-Mugamba** covers the high peaks of the Congo-Nile ridge where rainfall is plentiful and the temperature low. It is, par excellence, the survival zone of the forests (the Rugege forest and Kibira (1) of the Ngozi, Muramvya and Bururi Territories), which may be subdivided, according to exposure, humidity and temperature, into three sectors of vegetation: the bamboo zone, the resinous zone and the leafy zone. The Rugege Forest and the Kibira provide shelter for the elephant, buffalo, wart-hog, leopard, cynocephalus, and various species of antelope and feathered game (guinea-fowl, partridge and francolin). Crops, besides the usual foods, are mostly peas, maize, wheat, barley and, in areas of average altitude, Arabica coffee.

35. — **Rukiga** is lower and warmer. Erosion has caused serious damage here. This region is particularly suitable for the coffee crop.

36. — **Bututsi** (2) is a grassy savanna, made up of large plateaus with a rather cold and rainy climate. The natural pastures, with a rather high bromatological value, make this a region cultivated almost exclusively by the Tutsi shepherds. Eleusine, cultivated just about everywhere as a sideline in the high altitude zones, is widespread there as a pioneer crop; peas and maize are also basic foods.

37. — **Buganza**, at average altitude (4,593 to 5,905 ft.), circles Lake Muhazi (3) with its long hills and grassy savannas. It was formerly the cradle and Ile-de-France of the Tutsi of Ruanda which valued its pastures. Here the Banyiginya royal clan made its first arms and developed its power. The lake and its savannas are the habitat of a varied fauna: the hippopotamus, otter, antelope, duck, goose, partridge, guinea-fowl. Manioc and groundnuts are added here to sorghum and the traditional beans.

38. — **Mugongo** (4) enjoys more favorable conditions than Buganza as far as climate, rainfall and temperature are concerned. Manioc, peas, soya, groundnuts and coffee are its main products.

(1) Kirundi word meaning "forest". It is a pleonasm to say "the forest of Kibira".

(2) This means land of the Tutsi, Bu belonging to the category designating names of places (Burundi, Bufundi, Buyenzi, etc.).

(3) Muhazi and not Mohazi.

(4) "The back" in the native language.

39. — **Bwanamukari** occupies the largest portion and the vital center of the Astrida territory. Because of its favorable climate and the fertility of the soil, it has become, along with Bugoyi-Murera, the densest population center in Ruanda. The prevalence of sorghum and beans is overwhelming here as it is elsewhere throughout the entire central plateau of Ruanda. Coffee production is high.

40. — **Buyenzi**, where the climate is favorable and the land fertile, occupies almost all of the Ngozi territory. It is marked, in certain areas, by immense valleys. Its pleasant hills are admirably suited to the coffee crop which has become the most precious resource for an extremely prolific population on land which has become too confining.

41. — **Kirimi** (the word means "crop country"), situated in the center of Urundi, is comparable to Bwanamukari for its climate, population density and crops. On soil of average fertility, the coffee crop is widespread and food production rather intensive.

42. — **Bweru**, in the northeastern part of Urundi, has a more marked dry season than the agricultural lands of the central plateau. Its grassy and wooded savannas protect the lion, the elephant, the river hog and many birds and antelope. Coffee, manioc and groundnuts grow well here.

43. — **Buyogoma**, divided from the southwest to the northeast by large mountain chains which give rise to an alternation of very fertile land and wooded savanna, is relatively sparsely populated, but still full of game (lion, elephant, river hog, antelope and feathered game). Besides the customary crops, groundnuts and soya are successfully grown here.

44. — **Mutara-Mubari**, pastoral region where all of the Kagera National Park is located, enjoys a warm, dry climate at an average altitude of 4,593 ft. Its wooded savannas formerly provided an ideal means of passage and penetration for the Hamite tribes pushing their flocks southward. They are, even today, the habitat of a few hundred Hima families who have remained nomads. The fauna, which has justified the creation of Kagera Park, is plentiful and varied: it includes particularly the buffalo, zebra, hippopotamus, crocodile, leopard, lion, antelope, lycaon, etc.

45. — **Gisaka** is very similar to Mutara-Mubari but has a better distribution of rainfall and a denser population. Groundnuts and coffee grow well here.

46. — **Mirenge**, marked by large plateaus where the banana tree grows remarkably well, has a temperate and relatively dry climate and a very dense population.

47. — **Bugesera**, pastoral region, has assumed a semi-deserted aspect as a result of overstocking and periodic brush fires. Its climate is warm and dry, its rainfall very irregular. It is covered by bushy-grassy savanna

where the thorny species thrive. The large valleys (Nyabarongo, Kanyuru, etc.) that surround it have formed immense marshes covered with papyrus. Game is plentiful here : the buffalo, elephant, lion, leopard, wart-hog, hippotamus, crocodile, waterbuck and other antelope, feathered game (guinea-fowl, partridge, francolin, quail, duck, goose, snipe). Large-scale irrigation and drainage, especially in the large valleys, could make this area suitable for intensive cultivation of food crops.

48. — **Moso**, with a warm, dry, irregular climate at an average altitude of 4,265 ft., was formerly populated but has now been practically abandoned by its inhabitants because of sleeping sickness and the ravages caused by wild animals. Large areas may easily be cultivated, especially in the valleys of the Maragarazi, Musasa, Muyovozi and Mutsindozi Rivers. The buffalo, lion, leopard, wart-hog and antelope find shelter in its savannas and bamboo groves. Manioc, groundnuts, cotton, red pepper (pilipili) and coffee grow well here.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE

SUMMARY

ANTHROPOLOGY

Physical Anthropology.
Social Anthropology.

DEMOGRAPHY

Historical Background.
The Rural Population.
The Urban Population.
The Non-African Population.

ANTHROPOLOGY

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY (1)

49. — The first question asked by the anthropologist about to tackle the study of a country is: which populations inhabit it? By population he means a group of individuals who marry much more often within the group than outside it. Population is thus defined by a barrier against external unions, whether this barrier be geographic, political or social. He then subjects a certain number of people of each population to examinations (measurements, blood type, colorimetry, etc.) and condenses his results in the form of statistics: most often the average for each characteristic and values which give the frequency and the extent of departures from this norm. Once this descriptive stage has been passed, he is then free to make comparisons with other neighboring or distant populations, to set forth hypotheses concerning the origin of the groups studied and their genesis. In order for these questions to be completely resolved, the remains of the men who were the ancestors of the present inhabitants must be found. If he does not have the benefit of doing team-work with someone specializing in human paleontology, our anthropologist is very often forced to abandon the anthropometrist's fathom and compass for the excavator's pick and trowel.

50. — The Ruanda-Urundi border constitutes if not a hermetic, at least a very effective, barrier as far as unions are concerned. Within each country we find the population divided into three casts: the Tutsi, the Hutu and the Twa. In the great majority of cases, people marry within their cast.

51. — In fact, the Twa live in small groups having little relation with one another: each group constitutes a small population and, in this fragmentation, the Ruanda-Urundi frontier is but one element.

52. — It is also true that among the Tutsi and the Hutu — more so among the latter — one more often marries someone from the same region. One can, nevertheless, without splitting hairs, limit oneself to the following ethnic groups: the Tutsi of Ruanda and those of Urundi, the

Hutu of Ruanda and those of Urundi, the Twa. It is, however, necessary to exclude the inhabitants of two regions, inhabited mostly by Hutu, which are isolated by their geographic and climatic characteristics: Moso, which lies in the Maragarazi hollow at the boundary of Urundi and the Tanganyika Territory; Imbo, on the banks of Lake Tanganyika and on the Rusizi plain which stretches northward. The population in these areas is distinctly different, on an average, from that inhabiting the higher regions of the country.

53. — Tutsi of Ruanda and Tutsi of Urundi are so similar that it is possible to consider them together. The Hutu of both countries may likewise be grouped in a brief description; the differences between them will be mentioned later, when necessary.

54. — One of the characteristics which appears most striking to the visitor to Ruanda-Urundi is the stature of the natives. It is, on the average, 5 feet 9 inches for the Tutsi, 5 feet 5 inches for the Hutu, 5 feet for the Twa. One is, of course, far from the 6 feet 6 inches stated as the average height of the Tutsi in many tales of travelers who have remembered only exceptional individuals; it is, however, true that the Tutsi are one of the tallest human groups in the world.

55. — The tall stature of the Tutsi is emphasized by their slenderness: their average weight (about 123 pounds) is, despite the difference in height, lower than that of the Hutu (almost 125 pounds in Urundi and 130 pounds in Ruanda). Is this slimmess due mainly to heredity or to diet? It is not exactly known, although diet plays an undeniable role in this phenomenon.

56. — Another striking fact relative to the Tutsi's height: the length of the lower members, longer with them than with the Hutu and longer with the latter than with the Twa.

57. — The Twa, short and stocky, are in striking contrast to their fellow citizens, the Tutsi. This contrast is as marked for the average features of the face as it is for height and, here again, the Hutu are intermediary. The Tutsi's head is long and narrow, his face high and narrow, his nose very high and relatively narrow; in contrast, the Twa has, on the average, a rounder head, a low, wide face and a short, wide nose. To give some figures: the nasal index (ratio of the width and height of the nose) is 70 with the Tutsi, 83 with the Hutu and 89 with the Twa.

58. — The Tutsi's nose made such an impression on the first observers that, referring unconsciously to the European physique, they ascribed thin lips to them as well. In fact, the Tutsi have, on the average, thicker lips than the Hutu and it is the Twa who have by far the thinnest lips. On the other hand, the Tutsi have a narrower mouth than those of the two other groups.

(1) All the data in this chapter has been drawn from the following two works: J. Hiernaux, "Les Caractères physiques des populations du Ruanda et de l'Urundi" ("Mémoires de l'Institut Royal des Sciences Naturelles de Belgique", 2nd series, fasc. 59, 1954, 111 pages, 2 maps, 11 graphs, 4 plates); Id., "Analyse de la variation des caractères physiques humains en une région de l'Afrique centrale: Ruanda-Urundi et Kivu" ("Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge", Tervuren, series in-3° [Sciences de l'homme, Anthropologie], vol. 3, 1956, 130 pages, 2 maps, 11 graphs, 8 plates).

59. — There is hardly any difference in the skin color of the groups in Ruanda-Urundi; upon analysis, the Tutsi scarcely appear a little lighter, on the average, than the Hutu and the Twa. Their color is a more or less dark brown. The same slight difference may be found in the color of their eyes, a little lighter with the Tutsi, but the eyes of all three groups are a more or less definite brown.

60. — Tutsi, Hutu and Twa all have dark black hair; it is always kinky and is either woolly or "pepper grainy" in appearance; there is no distinct difference between the three groups as far as these characteristics are concerned.

61. — Leaving the field of measured characteristics, a few details of the face will be considered.

62. — A profile with a convex nose is three times more common among the Tutsi than among the Hutu and the Twa; the concave profile, on the other hand, is twice as common among these latter two groups.

63. — The convex upper lip, so common among the Pygmies, is found among 60 % of the Twa, but only among 20 % of the Hutu and 5 % of the Tutsi.

64. — More than 50 % of the Tutsi have a receding chin; this proportion is lower among the Hutu and even lower among the Twa.

65. — The anthropologist also studies those characteristics which, though invisible to the naked eye, are nevertheless interesting.

66. — Thus, the frequency of the various blood types of the ABO system (the classic blood types) differs between Tutsi and Hutu: the Tutsi have a very high frequency of group O. Other systems, like that of the MN blood types, also make it possible to differentiate between the Tutsi and Hutu specimens. Hereditary blood anomalies as well; sickle-mia, for example, is found among only 1 % of the Tutsi, but affects 11 % of the Hutu of Urundi and many more in Imbo and Moso. On the other hand, another system, the Rh sub-groups, very sensitive to the recent intrusion of European blood into a black population, shows no difference between Tutsi and Hutu.

67. — This list of observations has made it possible to establish, for many characteristics, significant differences between the three main ethnic groups in Ruanda-Urundi. The Twa seems to be a sort of antithesis of the Tutsi, and the Hutu an intermediary between them. Average differences, it must be emphasized: it is perfectly normal to pass a Hutu strolling next to a Tutsi smaller than himself; the margins of height variations in the two populations partially overlap.

68. — How has it happened that such different populations live side by side? The isolation in which the social organization maintains them explains how clear differences have been perpetuated, but it does

not explain how these differences could take root in a similar milieu. Thus one is led to believe that the three groups acquired their particularities in different environments — in different biotopes, to use the proper scientific term.

69. — The soil of Ruanda-Urundi has not yet yielded a fossil man; there is thus no landmark in the local past. In the quest for the origin of the country's present groups, the first step is the search for affinities with foreign populations.

70. — The Twa have a definite morphological relationship with the African Pygmies, whose most characteristic representatives, the Mbuti, live in the Ituri Forest, not far away. With the exception of groups living in the open country, they also share their way of life, that of forest hunters, completely ignorant of agriculture. But the Twa, compared with the Mbuti, look like attenuated Pygmies: they are short, but taller than the Pygmies; their nose is very wide, but not so wide as among the Pygmies; their face is low, but no so low as among the Mbuti. Does cross-breeding with the Hutu or even with the Tutsi, which although rare, nevertheless exists, explain this attenuation? The question has not been resolved, for nothing at present authorizes us to believe that the ancestors of the Twa had ever attained the same degree of "pygmization" as the Mbuti of Ituri. Whatever the case may be, it seems justifiable to attribute a very important role in the origin of the Pygmies, whether they be Mbuti or Twa, to the very special environment provided by the great equatorial forest.

71. — The Hutu do not differ greatly from the peasant populations of East Africa and Kivu and part of the difference is a result of cross-breeding with the Tutsi. The problem of their origin is thus reduced to that of the large human group of black central African farmers, still very obscure.

72. — The Tutsi affinities are altogether different. They share, to varying degrees, their morphological characteristics with populations as far away as the Somali, the Masai of Kenya, the Peuhls or Foulani of West Africa and the southern confines of the Sahara, all populations who were or are pastoral. The most tempting hypothesis imagines the genesis of this group, often called "Ethiopid" in steppes or grassy savannas scorched by the sun. Perhaps neolithic Sahara, the inhabitants of which covered its rocky walls with numerous drawings of long-horned cattle, was inhabited by related populations. A grotto in Kenya, much nearer Ruanda-Urundi, has brought to light, along with multimillennary chipped stones, skeletons which strangely resemble those of our Tutsi, without our being able to judge the color of the skin which covered them. Many authors have tried to explain the mixture of characteristics considered as Negroid among the Tutsi — dark skin and kinky hair, for example, and those considered as European — the narrow nose mainly — by an ancient cross-breeding between a Negro and a White group.

There is no convincing argument in favor of this hypothesis. Why could not evolution have produced a black population with a thin nose by other means than cross-breeding?

73. — Minor differences may be noted within the three ethnic groups of Ruanda-Urundi.

74. — As was seen, the Twa are divided up into small isolated groups. The majority live in the forest hunting and gathering their food, the others in open country, poor in game, where they practice crafts: they are potters, dancers, buffoons, former executioners. The groups living far from the forest bear a closer resemblance to the Hutu; small minority among the latter, they are particularly subject to cross-breeding.

75. — Differences may be observed between the populations of Ruanda and those of Urundi. The differences concern the same characteristics among the Tutsi and Hutu: in both groups, for instance, the head is wider in Ruanda, the nose wider in Urundi. How may this parallelism be explained? One hypothesis which comes immediately to mind is the molding influence of the environment and, at present, it has been neither proved nor refuted. Another explanation is suggested by an analysis of the data: It does not, moreover, exclude the preceding one. Reciprocal cross-breeding between Tutsi and Hutu is a fact. Now, the study of the measurements, like that of certain characteristics of the blood, gives rise to a strong suspicion that the Hutu of Urundi have been strongly influenced by an ethnic background which would have maintained a certain autonomy in Moso: indeed, the characteristics of the inhabitants of Moso manifest, to a more marked degree, the differences which separate the Hutu of Ruanda from those of Urundi. These latter differences could thus be explained on the basis of the influence of a population absorbed in Urundi and the parallel differences pointed out between the Tutsi of both countries on the basis of cross-breeding with the Hutu.

76. — The morphology of an individual depends on two things: heredity and environment. Beneficial environmental influences can palliate hereditary defects and, inversely, hereditary potentiality can be prevented from attaining its full realization by an unfavorable environment. Although it has been notably improved during the past decades, the environment of Rwanda and of Rundi is still far from excellent: sanitation is poor, parasites of the blood and of the intestines are very common, and finally, diet is poorly balanced, deficient in animal proteins, in fats and in certain vitamins.

77. — Average weight and muscular strength are low. That environment plays an important role in this fact is shown by the development of the Hutu in the regions higher than 6,562 ft. where malaria is rare and the soil more fertile and rainfall more plentiful: not only are weight and muscular strength 16 pounds on the average more than that of the

Hutu living at a lower altitude, but even the dimensions of the head are significantly larger.

78. — In view of the impetus which is now transforming the country, should one wish to foresee the future of the populations of Ruanda-Urundi from the physical point of view, one can predict a marked increase in vigor and sturdiness parallel to the improvement in the standard of living and an attenuation of the differences between the ethnic groups through cross-breeding, phenomenon which has been going on for generations, but which is now being accelerated by the process of democratization.

SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Introduction.

79. — The culture of the populations of Ruanda-Urundi is not entirely uniform. In Ruanda, that of the populations of the north, of the Kisenyi, Ruhengeri and Biumba territories and that of the east, of the Kibungu territory is more or less different from that of central Ruanda. In Urundi, the local diversity is even greater, and the culture of the northwest, that of the center, that of the east and that of Moso to the south should be differentiated. There exist, moreover, marked differences between the culture of central Ruanda and that of central Urundi. But this local diversity concerns only details and it is possible, without distorting the facts, to give a general description, applicable to the whole region. Mention will, however, be made of the most outstanding differences between the culture of Ruanda and that of central Urundi.

80. — The native population of Ruanda is made up of three ethnic groups: the Twa, the Hutu and the Tutsi. Numerically these groups are very unequal; the usual estimates give the following figures: the Twa constitute 1 %, the Hutu 84 % and the Tutsi 15 % of the total population. The differences between these groups are found in their activities. The Twa are hunters and potters. Some of them are singers, dancers and buffoons. The Hutu are, above all, farmers and the Tutsi essentially shepherds. The Twa were more or less in the service of the other groups. The governing class was composed mostly of Tutsi, but the Hutu Jacquerie of November 1959 brought about widespread changes in the Banyarwand social structure. Following this social revolution, the Hutu came to power and now occupy a majority of the seats on the Council, in the provisional government and on the communal councils.

81. — In Urundi, the same divisions are found, but in this country an additional class, that of the Ganwa, is at the top of the hierarchy. It is made up of blood princes who rule almost alone. Physically, they are Tutsi. In February 1960, political parties were formed; this innovation is bound to bring about far-reaching modifications in Barundi social life.

Economic Structure.

82. — It is essentially through farming and cattle-breeding that the population of Ruanda-Urundi secures its sustenance. Hunting plays a very small role in the search for food. Only the Twa, for whom hunting is a tradition, eat game. The Tutsi consider it a sport and only the skins and ivory have any economic importance for them. There was no fishing except along Lake Tanganyika.

83. — Farming is the Hutu's occupation. The farmers' main tools are the hoe and the pruning-knife. The crops cultivated are principally beans, peas, sorghum, eleusine, sweet potatoes, manioc and maize. The following are planted as complementary crops: pumpkins and other varieties of gourds, groundnuts, tomatoes, yams (sweet potatoes) onions and red peppers. Around huts there are banana trees the fruit of which is used as a food and in the manufacture of beer. This product was important because this drink was offered at all social gatherings.

84. — The agricultural calendar is very varied and based on the lunar month. A specific agricultural activity is set aside for each month. It appears that agronomical knowledge is highly developed.

85. — Cattle are raised mostly by the Tutsi. Animals were never slaughtered simply to be eaten. But milk and butter are the food par excellence of the Tutsi nobility. In time of famine, the bull-calves are bled in turn in order to drink the blood. The skins were formerly used for clothing.

86. — In this society ruled by herdsmen, cattle are a major center of interest. Their importance in the political structure further increases this interest. There is a very complicated series of prescriptions and taboos concerning the care of cattle, a very extensive technical nomenclature on the subject as well as a well-ordered empirical knowledge of cattle-breeding. The rights over the cattle were very complex. The Mwami held the high property, another person had the ownership without usufruct and often a third person kept the usufruct following a contract of bondage.

87. — As there was little specialization in this economy — the specialists were potters, dancers or hunters — each family unit tended toward complete self-sufficiency and there was no need to organize regular markets. The only imported product was salt which came from Lake Edward.

Social Structure.

88. — Among the Rwanda and the Rundi, the social principle of descentance is through the males (agnate). Several institutions founded on kinship do exist: the family, the primary patrilineage, the secondary patrilineage, and the patriclan. There are two types of families, the nuclear family, composed of the couple and their children, and the

polygenous family, which is not simply a gathering of nuclear families, but functions as a unit in itself. The nuclear family occupies a single residence, the polygenous family has as many residences as there are wives. These residences may be on a single domain or on different domains. None of them was a principal one. The functions of the family are sexual, loving, economic, procreative, educative and ritual. It provides the sustenance of its members, the transmission of the culture to the young generation and the non-intervention of ancestral spirits.

89. — The family is created through marriage which is prohibited between members of the same patrilineage and between members of the same maternal family. Although marriage between persons of different ethnic groups is not prohibited, the case is rare. Local proximity was an important positive factor in the choice of a partner, except for the Tutsi who traveled a great deal. Among the Hutu, a wife is especially valued for her skill, whereas the Tutsi take into consideration the wealth of her family and the political influence that might be derived from the projected marriage. The choice is made, not by the future husband and wife, but on the advice of their patrilineages. Among the Tutsi, the dowry was generally a cow, a few drinking pitchers and a hoe; among the Hutu, it was a heifer or a cow and a dozen goats and a certain number of pitchers of banana beer. This dowry is the socially recognized symbol of the legitimate transfer of fecundity from one patrilineage to another. As long as this dowry has not been paid, the children are considered illegitimate, that is, as belonging to their mother's patrilineage.

90. — Divorce is decided upon by the husband and wife and is, in general, preceded by a temporary separation. It is not easy to obtain a divorce because it runs counter to the interests of both patrilineages and is disapproved of by public opinion. The recognized reasons for divorce are repeated bad treatment by the husband, refusal to live together, inability of the husband to support his wife, negligence of the wife in her household duties and repeated adultery. If there are children, the dowry is not reimbursed. In the absence of children and in cases where there has been no exchange of gifts or prestations between the two families, it is, however, returned.

91. — The primary patrilineage embraces about six generations. It is created when a former family splits into two, either because the group has become too large, or because of the eminence of an ancestor common to one part of the group. The head of the primary patrilineage is chosen, for the first time, by the one who establishes a new patrilineage. He then appoints his successor. The political chief of the region has a right to veto these appointments and, if this be the case, the council of the patrilineage chooses another candidate. This chief presides over the collective activities of the group, is the judge in disputes between members of his group, can punish a member who has broken a rule, except in the case of murder, and can sometimes legislate for his patrilineage.

92. — The significance of the patrilineage, as a collective body, is apparent in marriage transactions, mutual aid, the vendetta exercised against any murderer of a member of the group and the ancestral ritual, annual ceremony during which the lineal chief offers gifts to the ancestor of the lineage. This ceremony takes place after the sorghum harvest and is concluded with a ritual meal during which a cow, a goat or beans are eaten, depending on one's wealth. Another collective ceremony is the meeting of the council: all the influential members of the group are present. This council has the same prerogatives as the chief. The kinship system emphasizes the importance of the generation, of the predominance of consanguinity over affinity, of lineage over collateral relatives, the importance of sex, and establishes a patrilineal system mitigated by the recognition of many roles in the maternal line. Within the patrilineage the rights and obligations of each member toward the other are thus established with precision and the role of each is clearly defined; this gives the group a very strong social cohesion.

93. — The secondary patrilineage embraces several primary patrilineages. If these have only recently split, the secondary patrilineage fulfills some of the functions of the primary patrilineage. But if the split is ancient or is the result of a dispute, it does not fulfill them. The chief of the secondary patrilineage is chosen according to the same rules as for the primary patrilineage. He can legislate and give orders to the chiefs of primary patrilineages and set up a Court of Appeals to protest their decisions. Besides, the secondary patrilineage constitutes the exogamic group.

94. — The patriclan has neither chief nor collective activities. It is characterized by a common "totem" and by the fact that it includes the Tutsi and the Hutu. It is no longer a lineage group since servants may be included in it. In practice, almost all these patriclans are former secondary patrilineages having reigned over various kingdoms.

Political Organization.

95. — The political organization is based on three different bodies: an administration, an army and a cliental structure.

96. — The countries were divided into administrative districts. Several of these were dependent on a provincial chief who could be, and in the frontier provinces was, at the same time an army chief. In Ruanda, each district was governed by two chiefs: the land chief was in charge of farming rentals and the cattle chief in charge of cattle dues. In general, both functions were not performed by the same person. The district was divided into hills where the hill chief was subordinated to both the land chief and the cattle chief. Each hill was divided into neighborhoods ruled by one of the family chiefs who lived on it, chosen by the hill chief. These different chiefs collected the required tribute and taxes keeping a portion for themselves and transmitting the remainder to their superior.

Taxes were finally centralized in the royal residence of the district, where they were reserved, either for the Mwami or for one of his wives. On the livestock products, neither the hill chief nor the cattle chief could levy a tithe, but this very probably happened anyhow. Certain places were free and protected from the intervention of chiefs. These were the royal cemeteries and the domains belonging to the Biru, the Mwami's civil servants and counselors. This organization made possible the collection of taxes throughout the entire country and, as the duties of chief generally devolved upon the Tutsi, the system sanctioned the maintenance of this group in power. The Mwami kept his power due to the fact that he had the right to depose any provincial governor and also because of the tensions which very often existed between land chief and cattle chief. The Mwami was judge in their power conflicts and was well informed by each of them on the behavior of the other.

97. — In Urundi, the system was rather different. There the provincial governors belonged to the Ganwa class, were army chiefs, had a personal Court and could not be discharged without justification. In fact, they showed much greater independence toward the royal power.

98. — There were several armies in the countries. Each Mwami had his own. The nucleus of the army was formed by companies, made up of Tutsi sons, the Mwami's clients. It was completed by the incorporation of existing army companies, embracing whole patrilineages. Each army was made up of warriors and shepherds responsible for guarding the army's flocks. The expeditions could be simple raids or real campaigns, sometimes led by several armies at the same time and directed with a certain strategic art. Numerous ritual prescriptions accompanied each military operation.

99. — But the army's function was not purely military. The young Tutsi, who became a part of it, received their education and training in it. Moreover, the army gave the Mwami, the Court and its own chief, dues in cattle and milk. The army chief efficiently protected his subordinates in all their disputes, either with their patron, their patrilineal chief or with their administrative chiefs. He was sole judge in cattle litigations between Tutsi in his army.

100. — In Ruanda, the army chief was chosen and could be discharged by the Mwami. In Urundi, where each prince had his personal army, this was not the case. The fact that the central power could not control the military power as efficiently as in Ruanda explains the less-centralized character of this country's government.

101. — The cliental structure is an important political institution because it creates a feudal system. A client offers his services to a person of higher rank and asks for his protection. If the offer is accepted, he receives one or several cows and, from this moment on, he must serve his patron each time the latter requests a prestation. On the other hand,

the client keeps the usufruct of the cattle entrusted to him and the newly born male animals. He can, in his turn, give cows to other clients. In addition, he enjoys the protection and help of his patron in law suits, in economic want, in the payment of fines and in the defense of rights in case of vendetta. The cliental relationship may be inherited and one may have several patrons. The termination of the relationship involves the return of all the cows given or even of all the client's cows. Since it is the Tutsi, and especially the Mwami, who control the greatest portion of the cattle, they establish cliental ties with the Hutu and with less influential persons. In this way the feudal system strengthens the administrative and military hierarchy. Ultimately, each man had three types of superiors: his administrative chiefs, his army chief and his patrons. Toward the top of the social scale, the powers converge. It is more and more common to find that a single person is a provincial chief, an army chief and an important patron. Finally, all powers converge in the person of the Mwami.

102. — The Mwami, the Queen mother, the *biru*, royal counselors, and the council of provincial chiefs compose the Central Administration in Ruanda. The royalty, of divine origin, was personified by the Mwami, his drum *Karinga* and the Queen mother. Because of this, the Mwami is surrounded by a very strict protocol with magico-religious meaning. His successor is one of his sons, appointed by the *biru* after the death of his father and according to the wishes of the deceased. Since the succession is not subject to clearly defined rules, most of the reigns began with a contest among the sons of the deceased Mwami.

103. — The *biru*, the dynasty's advisors, do not form an assembly. They are guardians of the ritual knowledge necessary for the perpetuation of the royalty. Their duties are clearly defined and maintained within a strict hierarchy. The only power of the Mwami over his *biru* is that he can appoint new ones and dismiss disloyal ones. In the latter case, one of the sons of the discharged dignitary succeeds him, for these duties are strictly hereditary. The *bwiru* is the only institution in the country which provides control of the Mwami's power.

104. — The council of provincial chiefs does not meet regularly; it is called by the Mwami who consults it in time of crisis. One of these chiefs is the favorite councilor, a sort of Prime Minister, to whom all the responsibility of the Mwami's unpopular actions is ascribed.

105. — In Urundi, the *biru* are much less important, the provincial chiefs are more independent and the Mwami, although of divine origin, does not constitute the representation of his country. It is his drum *Karyenda* who is the royalty and religiously the Mwami is his subordinate. It follows that the ideology of royalty is a stronger support of the royal institution in Ruanda than in Urundi.

The Land Policy.

106. — The land policy is another manifestation of Tutsi absolutism, another success of the Hamitic integration system: it is truly the political organization projected onto the soil.

107. — Before the Tutsi invasion, the land policy was essentially clanish and patriarchal. The authority of the *paterfamilias* embraced the land and goods. The Hutu clans had taken possession of the land after having simply cleared the forest.

108. — As a result of the growth in the number of members of the clans that were clearing the forest, the forest domain crumbled and the power of the clan chiefs was weakened, thus opening the way to the Tutsi's policy of conquest. The Hutu made contractual agreements with the Tutsi to lease the latter's cattle and thus broke away from their former patrons. The new master did not hesitate to lay claims to his clients' land in default of heirs, emigration or banishment and to turn this land into a purely personal domain which he then used as he wished with regard to new clients. Thus began, slowly but surely, the peaceful revolution which assured the Mwami of the eminent possession of all the land in the country.

109. — According to the new land law which thus took root, the Mwami became the owner of the land and then, as a consequence, of all those beings who obtain their living from it.

110. — The concession of farm land by the political power thus involved the obligation, on the part of the peasant, to perform all kinds of duties, especially labor services and to pay tribute in the form of food. The concession of pasture land could be reduced to a simple grazing right or include a real political power conferring the right to demand and receive tribute from the households living on the concession.

Religious Conceptions.

111. — Beyond the natural world there exists a world imperceptible to the senses and where the creator god *Imana* and the ancestral spirits live. Men can also act in this invisible universe, either as soothsayers, interpreters of *Imana's* divine will or as witch doctors. The religious beliefs of the Rwanda and the Rundi explain the relationships existing between these hidden powers, and the rites seek to obtain favorable intercession and to ward off any malevolent action by these powers.

112. — *Imana*, the creator, is a person. He has intelligence, will and emotivity. He is immaterial, universal and very powerful. But he is especially the god of the country. He is essentially good. He creates each man and determines his later life. If the life of a man is unhappy, it is because *Imana* was tired when he created him. In fact, he is the

primary cause of all existence. He is not the guardian of morals or of the social order. He punishes only he who disobeys a particular order given by him or who insults his name. No religious ceremony surrounds him which corresponds closely to the idea one has of him.

113. — The spirits of the deceased are men who live in a lower world equal to ours. They do not have closer relations with Imana than the living. They keep their individuality of living persons and although they neither eat nor drink nor have sexual relations, the life they lead is similar to that of the living. Sometimes they return to earth in the places where they have lived and sometimes they live permanently in their descendants' huts or in miniature cabins made especially for them. They are all wicked and the deceased of one's own secondary patrilineage are particularly evil. Only direct ancestors protect their descendants on the condition that they do not forget to make offerings and only when they had been honored during their lifetime by their progeny. The cult of the deceased is thus intended to appease them. They are often offered a few drops of milk or hydromel; sometimes a goat, a bull or a girl is offered to them. There is a more important annual ceremony within each patrilineage in order to honor them with an offering of symbolic gifts. Every fourth generation, a special ritual is celebrated at the Court of Ruanda the purpose of which is to abolish the cult of the ancestors who have not founded a patrilineage.

114. — Among the spirits, a small group, that of the Imandwa with Ryangombe or Kiranga as their chief, is particularly powerful. It is believed that Ryangombe or Kiranga was killed by a buffalo or a stag while hunting and that his friends committed suicide near his body. Imana then gave them a special place where they lead lives filled with pleasures. In order to be able to join their group, one must become initiated into the Imandwa sect. The members believe that those who do not belong to their sect will burn in an eternal fire after their death. The sect itself has the features of a mystery cult. Tutsi, Hutu, Twa, men and women, may become members and this is the only institution in which the difference in ethnic group has been abolished.

115. — The soothsayers consult the will of Imana in the viscera of chicks, rams and bulls or even by pure intuition or through a female medium. They identify the ancestors responsible for misfortunes and may indicate the manner in which they may be appeased.

116. — Witch doctors are criminals who use magic or natural means to make an attempt on the life of their fellow countrymen. They are initiated by other witch doctors and their actions are detected by soothsayers.

117. — For the Rwanda and the Rundi, the supernatural world is not permanently present. It is only when certain happenings cannot be explained by a natural cause or seem "abnormal" that they have

recourse to soothsayers who will detect the influence of witch doctors or spirits of the deceased.

Evolution of Customs.

118. — European civilization has brought into the country an atmosphere of general security, the use of money, rapid means of communication and generalized instruction, the principal elements of revolution of the subsistence economy. The native sells products such as cotton and coffee, earns wages, wants to buy goods from the barter trade and to imitate European buying habits. In the native settlements which have grown up near white posts, only salaried jobs, business or crafts make it possible for the detribalized native to earn his living. Little by little, the social and symbolic value of long-horned cattle is slipping into the background; the native is becoming conscious of the economic resources that can be developed through him. Intensive farming is on its way toward realization among the farming classes and in certain areas especially favorable to the coffee crop.

119. — Under the pressure of the Christian religions, the ancestor cult is disintegrating and losing ground: little by little its practices are disappearing. Correlatively, family cohesion and authority are regressing: the patriarch enjoys only the natural feelings of deference inspired by blood ties; the individual who desires a less gregarious existence is expressing his first reactions. Forsaking the traditional reserve of their sex, women are personally pleading their cause before the courts. Young men and women decide to marry according to their own inclinations and refuse to submit to the negotiations concluded by their elders. Mutual aid within the family is dying out, individual selfishness tends to minimize the customary obligations toward dependent persons. Native councils are opening to question not only the amount of matrimonial dowries which they consider too high and which have become, in certain regions, the pretext for doing business, but their principle as well; they see here an expression of the inferior position occupied by the woman and even go as far as to foresee its suppression.

120. — The contract to lease cattle has been on its way to abolition in Ruanda since 1954. The partitions consecutive to this reform affect some 200,000 heads of cattle and some 21,000 contracts. The cow has become an object of individual property which must be personally cared for and whose economic value is greater than its social value. This reform, although decided upon, has not yet been introduced in Urundi where the pastoral protection contract, more supple than in Ruanda and founded on mutual aid and friendship, can be adapted at present to the new social relationships.

121. — The prestige of the Tutsi, maintained until November 1959 in Ruanda, was seriously shaken by social revolution. At present, Tutsi

influence over the Hutu is non-existent and many are the Tutsi who have chosen exile or who were driven from their positions and their land. In Urundi, although the country has not been shaken by social upheaval, the power of the Tutsi and the Ganwa is very rapidly crumbling beneath the pressure of political events.

122. — Finally, individualism tends to transform the right to land-holdings: farmers and herdsmen are claiming, as their personal property, lands which they occupied only as users or which were saddled with political servitude. As a result of the disintegration of the family unit and the gradual disappearance of patriarchal powers, the basic land entity has ceased to be constituted by all the lands of the family's domain and has become reduced practically to the individual holding of the head of the household. Since the population, greatly increased, has become sedentary, the land has acquired, for those who hold it, the value given it by farmers of all countries; considered as individual real-estate, it gives rise to bitter disputes. Herdsmen and farmers intend to exercise exclusive rights, not only over the soil which they cultivate, but even over expansion lands. The countries' higher councils are now tackling these problems; in Ruanda, this has been the reason for a large-scale public opinion survey carried on through the chieftaincy councils.

123. — The year 1960 was decisive in the political evolution of the Trusteeship Territory. In Ruanda political and public offices were filled by Hutu and a few Tutsi who have managed to identify themselves with the new order. For Ruanda 1960 is a landmark: members of the communal councils were elected by the inhabitants; a provisional government and a council, set up in proportion to the number of votes secured in the communal elections, were set up on October 26, 1960. In Urundi, the communal elections took place from November 15 to December 8 whereas the chieftaincies and sub-chieftaincies were dissolved.

Legislative elections will make possible the installation of autonomous governments. Independence will be granted to both countries during the first half of 1962.

DEMOGRAPHY

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

124. — The first data relative to the demographic situation in Ruanda-Urundi go back to the beginning of the twentieth century and are found in the reports made by some of the exploratory expeditions that visited the Territory during the German regime and from information received from missionaries.

125. — In 1907, Fuchs estimated the population of these territories at 4 million; Meyer estimated it at 5 million in 1914; Roehl, the same year, gives 3 million for Ruanda alone, whereas the ethnographer Czekanowski gave 1,500,000 as the figure for the same country in 1907.

126. — There is no indication as to how estimates were made at this time, except for Czekanowski who calculated the density of the population by counting the number of huts in one region, a very approximate method at best.

127. — The only index relative to the direction of the population's evolution at the time is given by R. P. Van der Burght who simply states, in a work which appeared in 1903, that births outnumber deaths. This growth is confirmed for the following ten years by several missionaries.

128. — If this evolution had been maintained, the population would be much greater than it is at present, but it has been periodically reduced by serious hecatombs caused by famine and epidemics.

129. — The changeability of the climate and its influence on food crops is still a regular cause of concern to the Administration.

130. — In 1922, when the League of Nations bestowed the administration of Ruanda-Urundi on Belgium, a system of registration restricted to adult, valid men subject to tax was inaugurated and applied until 1931. The estimates of the total population, based on this registration which many men were able to avoid, are very uncertain.

131. — These estimates drop, however, from 4 million in 1922 to 3 million in 1923 and then jump to 5 million from 1924 to 1927 only to drop again in 1928 to 3,750,000. It is, of course, necessary to take into account the inaccuracy of this type of survey during the early years of Belgian administration and to point out that slight variations in the accuracy of the census can cause sizeable errors.

132. — In 1931, the registration system for adult, valid men was enlarged and transformed into a census on cards which, this time, included all men, valid or not, and their families.

133. — A new source of information was devised at this time in the form of demographic inquiries. In each territory they dealt with a certain number of groups considered as representative. The findings collected in this way were applied to the whole population.

134. — These inquiries, based on the statistical method of polling, were carried on until 1950.

135. — Although the idea was a good one, its application left much to be desired; as a matter of fact, the choice of groups was not always appropriate; their limited number, the use of inadequate formulas for the calculation of estimates and a faulty operational technique in the field were the sources of other major errors.

136. — The following table summarizes the various estimates of the population for the years 1922 to 1949.

Estimates of the Native Population of Ruanda-Urundi
from 1922 to 1949

Year.	Population.	Year.	Population.
1922	4,000,000	1939	3,775,335
1923	3,000,000	1940	3,814,854
1924-1927	5,000,000	1941	3,843,436
1928	3,750,000	1942	3,830,101
1929-1931	3,450,000 (1)	1943	3,768,002
1932	3,451,000	1944	3,378,396
1933	3,244,000	1945	3,386,362
1934	3,165,000 (2)	1946	3,596,997
1935	3,385,583 (3)	1947	3,718,185
1936	3,509,094	1948	3,793,922
1937	3,693,304	1949	3,808,191
1938	3,752,742		

Sources :

(1) 1922 to 1931. — Report on the Administration of Ruanda-Urundi presented by the Belgian Government to the Council of the League of Nations.

(2) 1932 to 1934. — "Demographic Yearbook 1951", United Nations.

(3) 1935 to 1949. — "Plan décennal pour le développement économique et social du Ruanda-Urundi". Figures relative to the rural population only.

137. — Chapter I of the Ten-Year Plan, dealing with the native population, notes moreover that the existing demographic data can be used only with extreme caution because of the faulty conditions under which they were elaborated.

138. — It was with the intention of improving these conditions that, in 1951, the help of a specialized researcher from the "Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique centrale (IRSAC)" was sought; he devised a new system of demographic inquiry based on the latest knowledge in the field of polling.

139. — The data presented in the following paragraphs are based on these new demographic polls, carried on for the first time in 1952 and repeated every year since then, except in 1958.

THE RURAL POPULATION

140. — Ruanda-Urundi is one of the most densely populated countries in Africa. The former Belgian Congo, covering an area forty-three times greater and where the mineral and agricultural wealth is immense, has only three times as many people. The population living in rural areas was estimated at 4,559,768 following the 1957 poll which dealt with 362,570 individuals. This population is estimated at 4,625,805 for 1958.

Density and Distribution.

141. — The following table compares the densities of a few African countries ("Statistical Yearbook", December 1959, United Nations).

Countries	Area (square miles)	Number of inhabitants (in thousands)	Number of inhabitants per square mile
Ruanda-Urundi	20,915.83	4,625	220.15
<i>Neighboring countries :</i>			
Republic of the Congo.	904,992.20	13,174	14.504
Tanganyika Territory .	362,637.64	8,926	24.605
Uganda	93,981.08	5,767	61.383
<i>Other African territories:</i>			
Former French Equatorial Africa	969,111.90	4,891	5.18
Angola	481,351.30	4,392	9.065
Kenya	224,959.84	6,351	27.972
Union of South Africa.	472,358.60	14,418	30.821

142. — The density of 220 inhabitants per square mile (Ruanda, 241, Urundi, 196) makes Ruanda-Urundi the most densely-populated country in Africa south of the Sahara and even exceeds that of France (202 inhabitants per square mile).

143. — The data concerning population density in the different administrative sub-divisions (see table below) vary from 176 to 35 and indicate that the population is strongly concentrated on the central plateaus, that the density is low on the slopes which descend toward the east and west and that the lowest densities are in the eastern part of the country.

Density of the rural population (1957).

Territories	Area in square miles (Ten Year Plan figures)	Rural population	Density per square mile
I. - RUANDA:			
Astrida	1,085.71	446,190	410.96
Biumba	1,055.59	216,863	205.44
Kibungu	2,347.49	191,831	81.71
Kigali	1,399.22	290,925	223.47
Kisenyi	960.61	230,127	239.55
Nyanza	1,332.43	453,453	340.33
Ruhengeri	654.82	299,614	457.55
Shangugu	859.49	162,240	188.76
Kibuye	473.74	161,494	340.70
RUANDA	10,169.10	2,452,737	241.13
II. - URUNDI:			
Bubanza	1,514.28	238,369	157.42
Bururi	2,008.49	239,388	119.19
Kitega	1,326.64	387,550	292.13
Muhinga	1,424.71	288,295	202.36
Muramvya	604.24	208,728	345.43
Ngozi	1,105.01	470,235	425.54
Rutana	955.21	99,375	104.04
Ruyigi	1,647.87	151,664	92.05
Usumbura	160.23	23,427	146.21
URUNDI	10,746.68	2,107,031	196.06
RUANDA-URUNDI	20,915.78	4,559,768	218.00

Ethnic Groups.

144. — The rural population is divided into the three ethnic groups: Tutsi, Hutu and Twa; the numerical ratios between these groups are as follows:

	Tutsi.	Hutu.	Twa.
Ruanda	16.59	82.74	0.67
Urundi	12.39	86.48	1.13
Ruanda-Urundi	14.66	84.46	0.88

145. — The Tutsi percentage is higher in Ruanda, but the distribution varies greatly according to the territory. Thus, the highest proportion of Tutsi (30.71 %) is found in the Kibuye territory and the lowest (2.63 %) in the Bubanza territory.

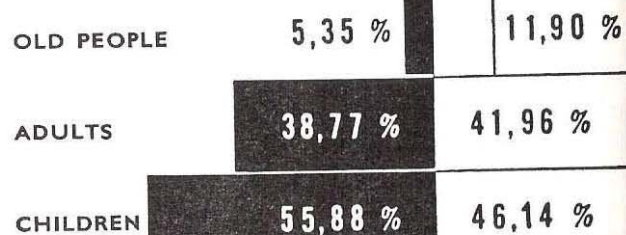
Distribution of the rural population by race (1956).

Territories	RACES					
	Tutsi	%	Hutu	%	Twa	%
I. Ruanda						
Astrida	98,380	22.97	324,056	75.68	5,769	1.35
Biumba	26,539	12.67	182,087	87.19	304	0.14
Kibungu	29,396	15.77	156,501	83.95	528	0.28
Kigali	36,163	12.79	245,672	86.89	891	0.32
Kisenyi	12,782	5.62	213,755	93.90	1,086	0.48
Nyanza	84,655	19.34	349,034	79.74	4,007	0.92
Ruhengeri	24,495	8.37	266,221	90.99	1,876	0.64
Shangugu	34,605	22.08	121,534	77.53	615	0.39
Kibuye	46,916	30.71	105,041	68.75	828	0.54
II. Urundi						
Bubanza	5,956	2.63	216,139	95.48	4,276	1.89
Bururi	67,833	28.93	166,491	71.01	140	0.06
Kitega	32,678	8.81	330,331	89.07	7,852	2.12
Muhinga	14,649	5.29	261,065	94.27	1,226	0.44
Muramvya	53,299	26.25	146,796	72.30	2,948	1.45
Ngozi	44,970	9.79	408,123	88.88	6,121	1.33
Rutana	12,220	12.49	85,303	87.21	287	0.30
Ruyigi	18,293	12.27	130,803	87.71	33	0.02
Usumbura						

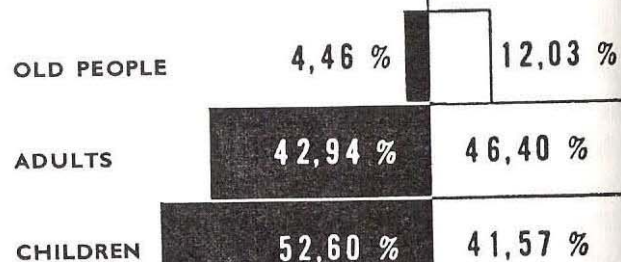
Not studied in 1956

**PYRAMID OF THE AGES
OF THE RURAL POPULATION (1957)**

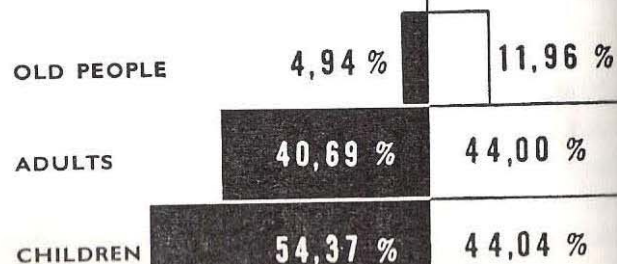
RUANDA



URUNDI



RUANDA-URUNDI



Distribution by sex and age.

146. — In Ruanda-Urundi there is a marked disparity in the number of men and women: the ratio is 114 females to 100 males.

	Male %.	Female %.
Ruanda	46.62	53.38
Urundi	45.95	54.05
Ruanda-Urundi	46.30	53.70

147. — The sex ratio remains about the same in all the regions of the country; it is different only for the Usumbura and Bubanza territories where the proportion of men is higher, making the ratio between the two sexes almost equal. This increase is due to the presence, in this region, of workers not accompanied by their wives.

148. — The population is divided into three age groups: from birth to puberty (childhood), from puberty to old age (adulthood), and thirdly old age. The percentage in each of these groups, based on the population poll of 1957, is as follows:

	% old people.	% adults.	% children.
Ruanda	8.85	40.49	50.66
Urundi	8.55	44.81	46.64
Ruanda-Urundi	8.71	42.47	48.82

Males.	% old people.	% adults.	% boys.
Ruanda	5.35	38.77	55.88
Urundi	4.46	42.94	52.60
Ruanda-Urundi	4.94	40.69	54.57

Females.	% old people.	% adults.	% girls.
Ruanda	11.90	41.96	46.14
Urundi	12.03	46.40	41.57
Ruanda-Urundi	11.96	44.00	44.04

149. — A series of polls was carried on in 1953 and 1954 in order to make up age pyramids. These pyramids corroborate the above tables and emphasize the high percentage of young people: 50 % of the inhabitants of Ruanda and more than 40 % of the population of Urundi are under 15 years of age. This difference between the two countries is due to a higher birth rate in Ruanda. It is necessary to point out that this population distribution has economic and social repercussions, in view of the proportion of individuals who have not reached or who have exceeded the work age.

Distribution of the rural population by sex (1957).

Territories	Males	%	Females	%	Total population
<i>Ruanda</i>					
Astrida	207,077	46.41	239,113	53.59	446,190
Biumba	99,215	45.75	117,648	54.25	216,863
Kibungu	88,337	46.05	103,494	53.95	191,831
Kigali	135,978	46.74	154,947	53.26	290,925
Kisenyi	106,135	46.12	123,992	53.88	230,127
Nyanza	212,897	46.95	240,556	53.05	453,453
Ruhengeri	139,860	46.68	159,754	53.32	299,614
Shangugu	78,410	48.33	83,830	51.67	162,240
Kibuye	75,644	46.84	85,850	53.16	161,494
Total Ruanda	1,143,553	46.62	1,309,184	53.38	2,452,737
<i>Urundi</i>					
Bubanza	117,040	49.10	121,329	50.90	238,369
Bururi	112,703	47.08	126,685	52.92	239,388
Kitega	175,676	45.33	211,874	54.67	387,550
Muhinga	128,897	44.71	159,398	55.29	288,295
Muramvya	93,093	44.60	115,635	55.40	208,728
Ngozi	214,427	45.60	255,808	54.40	470,235
Rutana	46,120	46.41	53,255	53.59	99,375
Ruyigi	68,537	45.19	83,127	54.81	151,664
Usumbura	11,650	49.73	11,777	50.27	23,427
Total Urundi	968,143	45.95	1,138,888	54.05	2,107,031
Ruanda-Urundi	2,111,696	46.30	2,448,072	53.70	4,559,768

Population growth.

150. — Already exceptionally dense, the population of Ruanda-Urundi continues to grow at the annual rate of 2.5 %. The natural rate of growth, according to the population polls of 1952 and 1957, is as follows:

	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
Ruanda-Urundi . .	2.4	2.5	2.3	2.4	2.6	2.8

151. — Evolution of the rural population from 1952 to 1957:

Year.	Ruanda.	Urundi.	Ruanda-Urundi.
1952	2,132,807	1,902,316	4,035,123
1953	2,169,927	1,893,889	4,063,816
1954	2,251,800	1,934,737	4,186,537
1955	2,309,499	1,987,604	4,297,103
1956	2,374,336	2,041,259	4,415,595
1957	2,452,737	2,107,031	4,559,768

152. — If this growth potential does not change, the population will double in about thirty years. In any case, it is probable that in the coming years, the application of modern medicine and sanitation, improvement in the diet and education will contribute to the increase in population, especially by lowering the death rate of infants and young children, while it seems hardly probable that there will be a drop in the birth rate.

Birth and fecundity rate.

153. — According to population polls, the birth rate (number of live births per 1,000 inhabitants) was 49.50 ‰ in 1957 and oscillated between 37.97 ‰ and 55.90 ‰ in the territories.

This must be considered as a particularly high rate, the physiological birth rate being approximately 60 ‰. It is interesting to compare this high birth rate with that of other under-developed countries: Uganda (1948), 42; Tanganyika (1948), 44; Southern Rhodesia (1947), 46.2; certain provinces of Kenya (1948), 50; Muslim population of Palestine (1946), 54.2. In 1955, the Belgian birth rate was 16.8 and the highest European birthrate — 28.4 — was found in Iceland.

154. — The fecundity rate, which is the ratio between the number of births in a year and the number of women of child-bearing age is a more precise reflection of the real significance of the birth rate. In 1957, this rate was 231 ‰ in Ruanda and 189 ‰ in Urundi.

Birth and fecundity rate of the rural population (1957).

A. — Birth rate (per 1,000 inhabitants).

Ruanda.		Urundi.	
Astrida	52.95 ‰	Bubanza	47.49 ‰
Biumba	55.66 ‰	Bururi	37.97 ‰
Kibungu	43.53 ‰	Kitega	48.89 ‰
Kigali	48.84 ‰	Muhinga	46.52 ‰
Kisenyi	55.90 ‰	Muramvya	47.67 ‰
Nyanza	52.27 ‰	Ngozi	46.77 ‰
Ruhengeri	52.02 ‰	Rutana	52.36 ‰
Shangugu	54.90 ‰	Ruyigi	45.74 ‰
Kibuye	50.60 ‰	Usumbura	—
RUANDA	51.99 ‰	URUNDI (without Usumbura) . . .	46.55 ‰

B. — *Fecundity rate* (per 1,000 women of child-bearing age).

Ruanda.		Urundi.	
Astrida	230 ‰	Bubanza	217 ‰
Biumba	251 ‰	Bururi	165 ‰
Kibungu	180 ‰	Kitega	188 ‰
Kigali	220 ‰	Muhinga	182 ‰
Kisenyi	241 ‰	Muramvya	192 ‰
Nyanza	235 ‰	Ngozi	189 ‰
Ruhengeri	246 ‰	Rutana	217 ‰
Shangugu	249 ‰	Ruyigi	189 ‰
Kibuye	225 ‰	Usumbura	—
RUANDA	231 ‰	URUNDI (without Usumbura) . . .	189 ‰

Death rate of the rural population (1952).

Territories	General mortality rate ‰	Infant mortality rate ‰	Post-infantile mortality rate ‰
RUANDA :			
Astrida	21.1	118	90
Biumba	26.8	137	124
Kibungu	33.6	194	225
Kigali	27.7	134	127
Kisenyi	27.0	168	225
Nyanza	30.4	114	186
Ruhengeri	17.7	105	82
Shangugu	23.7	163	110
Kibuye	(1)	(1)	(1)
RUANDA	25.9	137	144
URUNDI :			
Bubanza	22.7	93	76
Bururi	16.4	73	98
Kitega	23.7	116	140
Muhinga	32.1	141	199
Muramvya	20.7	64	158
Ngozi	31.9	156	173
Rutana	25.1	120	86
Ruyigi	29.4	126	142
Usumbura	25.9	142	154
URUNDI	26.4	121	145
RUANDA-URUNDI . . .	26.3	129.4	144

(1) The Kibuye territory was created in 1953.

Death rate.

155. — Under the still strong influence of taboos, the population remains reticent in declaring deaths. The death rates for the years 1953 to 1956 cannot be accepted; only the rates registered in 1952 seem likely. This rate reached 26.3 ‰ for the whole country, exceeding the world average which was estimated at about 24 for the 1946-48 period.

156. — Whereas the birth rate remains at a high level everywhere, the death rate varies considerably from one region to another because of differences in salubrity, altitude and racial structure. Massive spraying of huts with insecticides, the growing number of people receiving individual medical care must normally reduce deaths and one may presume that the rate is now lower than 20 ‰.

157. — The largest portion of general mortality is infant mortality (from 0 to 1 year), the rate of which was 129 ‰ in 1952 and the post-infantile rate was 144 ‰ the same year. It is weaning plus the increased risks of contamination when the child learns to walk that seem to determine the high death rate of children between one and three years of age, phenomenon peculiar to under-developed countries.

Migrations.

158. — The population of Ruanda-Urundi is relatively mobile. Although the volume of seasonal and temporary movement is small within the interior of the country, emigration toward neighboring territories is rather great. It is especially marked toward the British territories in the east, which constitute, much more than the former territories in the east, which constitute, much more than the former Belgian Congo, the geographic and human extension of the Territory, where the Rwanda and Rundi find familiar landscapes and related populations.

159. — Seasonal emigration toward Uganda has been going on since the beginning of the Belgian mandate, as shown by the census of workers

made in 1924 and 1925 around Kampala. The road leading from Ruanda toward Uganda was already at this time, and had probably been for a good many years, a way to escape from the periodic famines, the continual wars, the feudal oppressions.

160. — The size of this movement then grew along with the precocious economic development of Uganda where there was a shortage of labor and where the privileged inhabitants, the Ganda, made use very early of paid day workers. Emigration was also a way for those leaving to escape from duties imposed by the native authorities as well as from works imposed by the government as preventive measures against famine. Finally, an important psychological element came into play: the young man returning from Uganda was considered to have sown his wild oats and to have acquired his adult rights.

161. — Seasonal emigration remains much greater northward (Uganda) than eastward (Tanganyika Territory). The respective situation of the border territories means that the emigrants to Uganda are, in the majority, Rwanda, and those to the Tanganyika Territory mostly Rundi.

162. — Emigration toward Uganda is very variable and can oscillate between 25,000 and 50,000 people per year, not including the women and children who are not very numerous. The number of those departing and returning varies each year and depends mostly on economic circumstances. In 1957 there was a big drop in emigration (50 %) that was due to a large extent to the high production of coffee and a more liberal conception of agricultural obligations. This drop was even greater in 1958.

163. — Emigration to the Republic of the Congo and the Tanganyika Territory attracts mostly long-term workers, usually employed under a three-year contract. Yet, shifts in population from Ruanda toward Kivu were organized from 1945 to 1954 in order to settle a portion of Ruanda's surplus population in the new lands of the former Belgian Congo.

164. — If one differentiates between recruitment and spontaneous emigration, the figures for 1957 are as follows:

Ex-Belgian Congo				British Territories			General Total
	Recruited	Spontaneous	Total	Recruited	Spontaneous	Total	
Ruanda	53	960	1,013	360	15,741	16,101	17,114
Urundi	—	1,060	1,060	1,936	14,919	16,855	17,915
Total	53	2,020	2,073	2,296	30,660	32,956	35,029

165. — The figures supplied relative to spontaneous emigration are based on estimates and are perhaps under-estimated. It would be necessary, moreover, to be able to compare statistics relative to the number of persons returning to get a complete idea of the population movement.

166. — It is nevertheless certain that a great number of emigrants settle abroad, especially in Uganda, where the number of workers from Ruanda-Urundi is estimated at some 45,000, that is almost 32,000 in government services, agriculture, industry and various enterprises, and 13,000 to 14,000 working for Ganda farmers. Emigrants from Ruanda-Urundi thus supply about 15 % of the whole labor force employed in the Protectorate. Estimates worthy of belief set the approximate number of Rwanda and Rundi residing in Uganda at 300,000.

167. — The Tanganyika Territory employs more than 14,000 workers from Ruanda-Urundi, which represents a little more than 3 % of the whole labor force in this Territory.

168. — Since 1950, an Interterritorial Conference on Migrant Labor, bringing together labor and sanitation specialists, has been meeting each year in one of the three Territories; the purpose of these meetings is to study the particular conditions of emigration and to assure the migrating workers of a maximum number of guarantees relative to transportation, hygiene and especially labor security and sanitation at the places of employment.

THE URBAN POPULATION

169. — As of December 1958, there were, in Ruanda-Urundi, 63,260 Africans not subject to tribal law; they are divided as follows: 12,951 in Ruanda; 50,309 in Urundi; in the Usumbura area alone, there were 39,252.

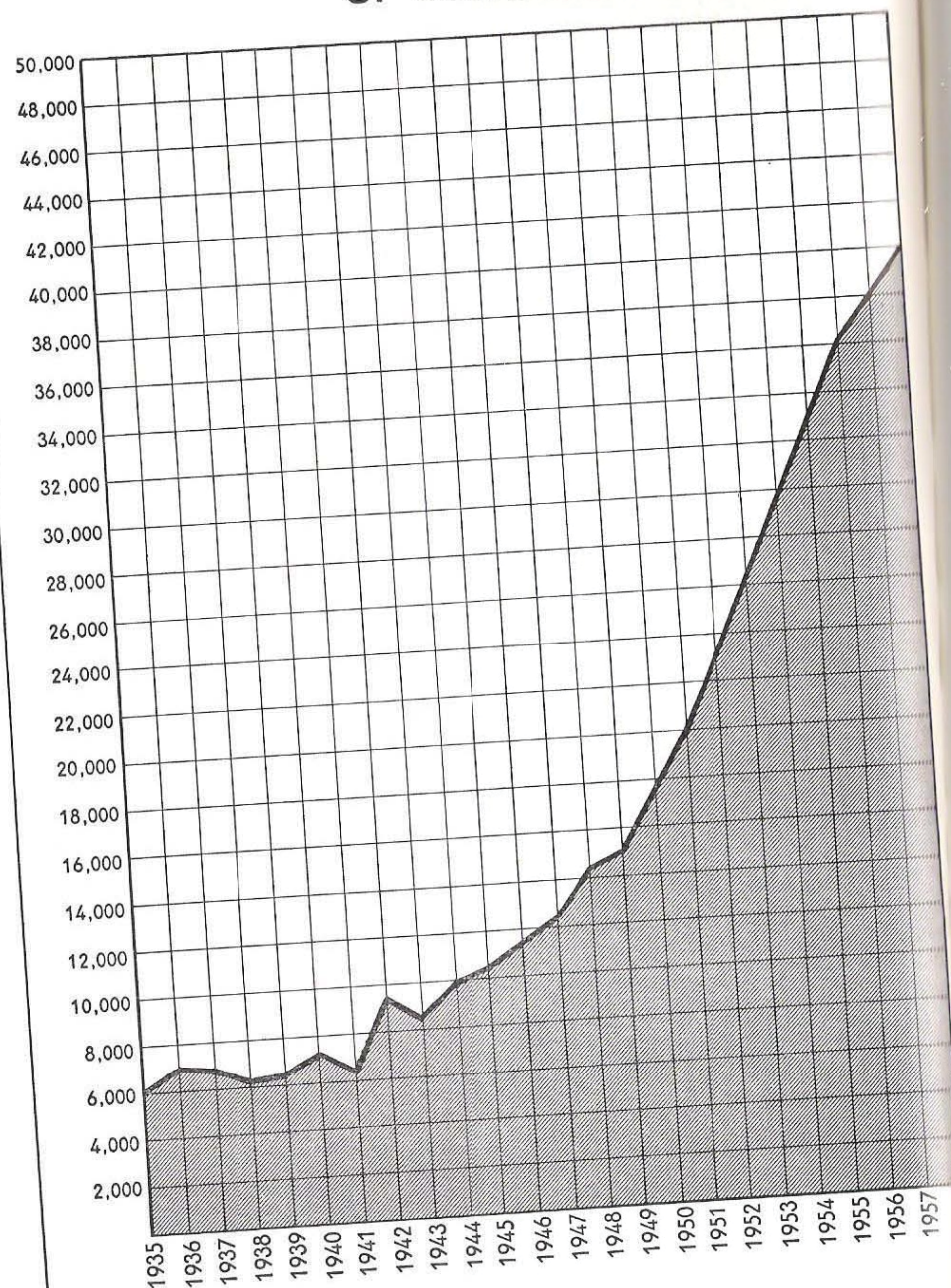
170. — Among them, the Swahili are only a few thousand, divided into several groups, mainly along Lake Tanganyika and on the Rusizi plain, but also in the centers of the interior, along the commercial roads.

171. — The Swahili are descended from ancestors who came from the shores of the Indian Ocean. They speak a very corrupt Swahili and believe in the Muslim religion. They live in a very closed circle, mixing little with the local population, but welcome willingly those natives who wish to embrace their faith.

172. — The Congolese who have followed the European immigration, mainly to Usumbura, are especially numerous in this locality where they represent 57 % of the African population.

173. — Finally, the urban population includes foreigners from other African territories among whom there are Ghana (skilled commercial employers known as Coastmen) and Uganda (merchants, shippers, drivers).

POPULATION OF THE URBAN CENTERS OF USUMBURA



Territories	OLD PEOPLE								
	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%	Men	%	Women
<i>Ruanda</i>									
Astrida	9,191	2.06	27,308	6.12	36,499	8.18	80,002	17.93	103,000
Biumba	4,641	2.14	13,207	6.09	17,848	8.23	36,867	17.00	48,400
Kibungu	6,081	3.17	13,889	7.24	19,970	10.41	32,841	17.12	45,500
Kigali	8,582	2.95	20,452	7.03	29,034	9.89	52,541	18.06	63,000
Kisenyi	6,536	2.84	14,521	6.31	21,057	9.15	39,513	17.17	52,500
Nyanza	9,069	2.00	29,520	6.51	38,589	8.51	86,882	19.16	100,000
Ruhengeri	9,078	3.03	18,007	6.01	27,085	9.04	52,373	17.48	63,500
Shangugu	3,569	2.20	9,296	5.73	12,865	7.93	33,340	20.55	35,000
Kibuye	4,506	2.79	9,690	6.00	14,196	8.79	29,101	18.02	36,500
Total Ruanda	61,253	2.49	155,890	6.36	217,143	8.85	443,460	18.09	549,000
<i>Urundi</i>									
Bubanza	2,408	1.01	9,892	4.15	12,300	5.16	55,874	23.44	60,000
Bururi	4,213	1.76	15,728	6.57	19,941	8.33	46,058	19.24	56,000
Kitega	8,410	2.17	26,780	6.91	35,190	9.08	78,091	20.15	100,000
Muhinga	7,813	2.71	20,873	7.24	28,686	9.95	52,931	18.36	75,000
Muramvya	4,342	2.08	13,400	6.42	17,742	8.50	36,340	17.41	51,000
Ngozi	9,734	2.07	33,293	7.08	43,027	9.15	93,483	19.88	117,000
Rutana	2,375	2.39	6,151	6.19	8,526	8.58	18,106	18.22	23,000
Ruyigi	3,443	2.27	9,585	6.32	13,028	8.59	28,134	18.55	36,000
Usumbura	480	2.04	1,327	5.66	1,807	7.70	6,782	28.95	6,000
Total Urundi	43,218	2.05	137,029	6.50	180,247	8.55	415,799	19.73	528,000
Ruanda-Urundi	104,471	2.29	292,919	6.42	397,390	8.71	859,259	18.84	1,077,000

(1) 1955 figures.

Composition and distribution of the rural population (1957).

Composition and distribution of the total population (cont.)																					
OLD PEOPLE						ADULTS						CHILDREN						TOTAL			Total population
Men	%	Women	%	Total	%	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%	Boys		%	Girls		%			%	
												— 1 year	+ 1 year		— 1 year	+ 1 year		— 1 year	+ 1 year		
9,191	2.06	27,308	6.12	36,499	8.18	80,002	17.93	103,025	23.09	183,027	41.02	11,021	106,863	26.42	11,244	97,536	24.38	22,265	204,399	50.80	446,190
4,641	2.14	13,207	6.09	17,848	8.23	36,867	17.00	48,425	22.33	85,292	39.33	5,508	52,199	26.61	5,812	50,204	25.83	11,320	102,403	52.44	
6,081	3.17	13,889	7.24	19,970	10.41	32,841	17.12	45,598	23.77	78,439	40.89	3,817	45,598		3,837	40,170	22.94	7,654	85,768	48.70	
8,582	2.95	20,452	7.03	29,034	9.89	52,541	18.06	63,044	21.67	115,585	39.73	6,342	68,513	25.73	6,604	64,847	24.56	12,946	133,360	50.29	
6,536	2.84	14,521	6.31	21,057	9.15	39,513	17.17	52,906	22.99	92,419	40.16	6,006	54,080	26.11	5,937	50,628	24.58	11,943	104,708	50.69	
9,069	2.00	29,520	6.51	38,589	8.51	86,882	19.16	100,621	22.19	187,503	41.35	11,110	105,836	25.79	11,472	98,943	24.35	22,582	204,779	50.14	
9,078	3.03	18,007	6.01	27,085	9.04	52,373	17.48	63,910	21.33	116,283	38.81	7,430	70,979	26.17	7,071	70,766	25.98	14,501	141,745	52.15	
3,569	2.20	9,296	5.73	12,865	7.93	33,340	20.55	35,612	21.95	68,952	42.50	3,683	37,818	25.58	4,316	34,606	23.99	7,999	72,424	49.57	
4,506	2.79	9,690	6.00	14,196	8.79	29,101	18.02	36,288	22.47	65,389	40.49	41,501	38,339	26.03	3,875	35,997	24.69	80,423	74,336	50.72	
												42,037				39,872		81,909		161,494	
61,253	2.49	155,890	6.36	217,143	8.85	443,460	18.09	549,429	22.40	992,889	40.49	58,615	580,225	26.04	60,163	543,697	24.62	118,783	1,123,922	50.66	2,452,737
												638,840				603,865		1,242,705			
2,408	1.01	9,892	4.15	12,300	5.16	55,874	23.44	60,760	25.49	116,634	48.93	5,268	53,490	24.65	5,721	44,956	21.26	10,989	98,446	45.91	238,369
4,213	1.76	15,728	6.57	19,941	8.33	46,058	19.24	56,256	23.50	102,314	42.74	58,758	58,482	26.08	4,860	49,841	22.85	8,810	108,323	48.93	
8,410	2.17	26,780	6.91	35,190	9.08	78,091	20.15	100,492	25.93	178,583	46.08	62,432	80,455	23.01	8,604	75,998	21.83	17,324	156,453	44.84	
7,813	2.71	20,873	7.24	28,686	9.95	52,931	18.36	75,331	26.13	128,262	44.49	89,175	62,185	23.64	84,602	56,938	21.92	173,777	119,123	45.56	
4,342	2.08	13,400	6.42	17,742	8.50	36,340	17.41	51,577	24.71	87,917	42.12	5,968	47,652	25.11	6,256	46,275	24.27	12,224	93,927	49.38	
9,734	2.07	33,293	7.08	43,027	9.15	93,483	19.88	117,230	24.93	210,713	44.81	68,153	100,489	23.65	4,383	95,081	22.39	131,347	195,570	46.04	
2,375	2.39	6,151	6.19	8,526	8.58	18,106	18.22	23,820	23.97	41,926	42.19	52,411	23,204	25.80	10,204	21,018	23.43	103,069	44,222	99,375	
3,443	2.27	9,585	6.32	13,028	8.59	28,134	18.55	36,551	24.10	64,685	42.65	2,435	33,563	24.37	2,266	33,973	24.39	20,925	67,536	48.76	
480	2.04	1,327	5.66	1,807	7.70	6,782	28.95	6,449	27.53	13,231	56.48	25,639	36,960	18.74	3,397	3,517	17.08	48,923	7,437	23,427	
												36,960	3,920		484	4,001		73,951	8,389	35.82	
43,218	2.05	137,029	6.50	180,247	8.55	415,799	19.73	528,461	25.08	944,260	44.81	45,686	463,440	24.17	45,796	427,597	22.47	91,482	891,037	46.64	2,107,031
												509,126				473,393		982,519			
104,471	2.29	292,919	6.42	397,390	8.71	859,259	18.84	1,077,895	23.63	1,937,154	42.47	104,301	1,034,665	25.17	105,954	971,294	23.65	210,265	2,014,959	48.82	4,559,867
												1,147,960				1,077,258		2,225,224			

Urban population (1957).

Territories	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
Kigali	1,466	1,226	1,084	1,024	4,800
Nyanza	208	226	169	159	762
Astrida	848	712	767	800	3,127
Shangugu	49	39	52	48	188
Kibuye	14	11	11	12	48
Kisenyi	239	187	163	168	757
Rubengeri	287	239	322	309	1,157
Bumba	15	13	13	25	66
Kibungu	778	607	317	344	2,046
Total Ruanda	3,904	3,260	2,898	2,889	12,951
Usumbura	11,442	10,747	10,091	9,381	41,661
Bubanza	100	79	47	60	286
Kitega	714	709	857	683	2,963
Muramvya	10	10	9	6	35
Ngozi	51	44	37	23	155
Muhinga	75	58	47	52	232
Ruyigi	27	23	24	14	88
Rutana	15	12	10	18	55
Bururi	1,074	1,643	1,051	1,066	4,834
Total Urundi	13,508	13,325	12,173	11,303	50,309
Total RuandaUrundi	17,412	16,585	15,071	14,192	63,260(1)

(1) 30,260 of whom are non-native Africans, including mostly Congolese (28,776).

Population of the urban center of Usumbura.

African population per housing development
(as of December 1958):

Belge	8,965
Buyenzi	11,063
Ngagara	8,431
Kamenge	7,662
Urban district	3,131
	39,252

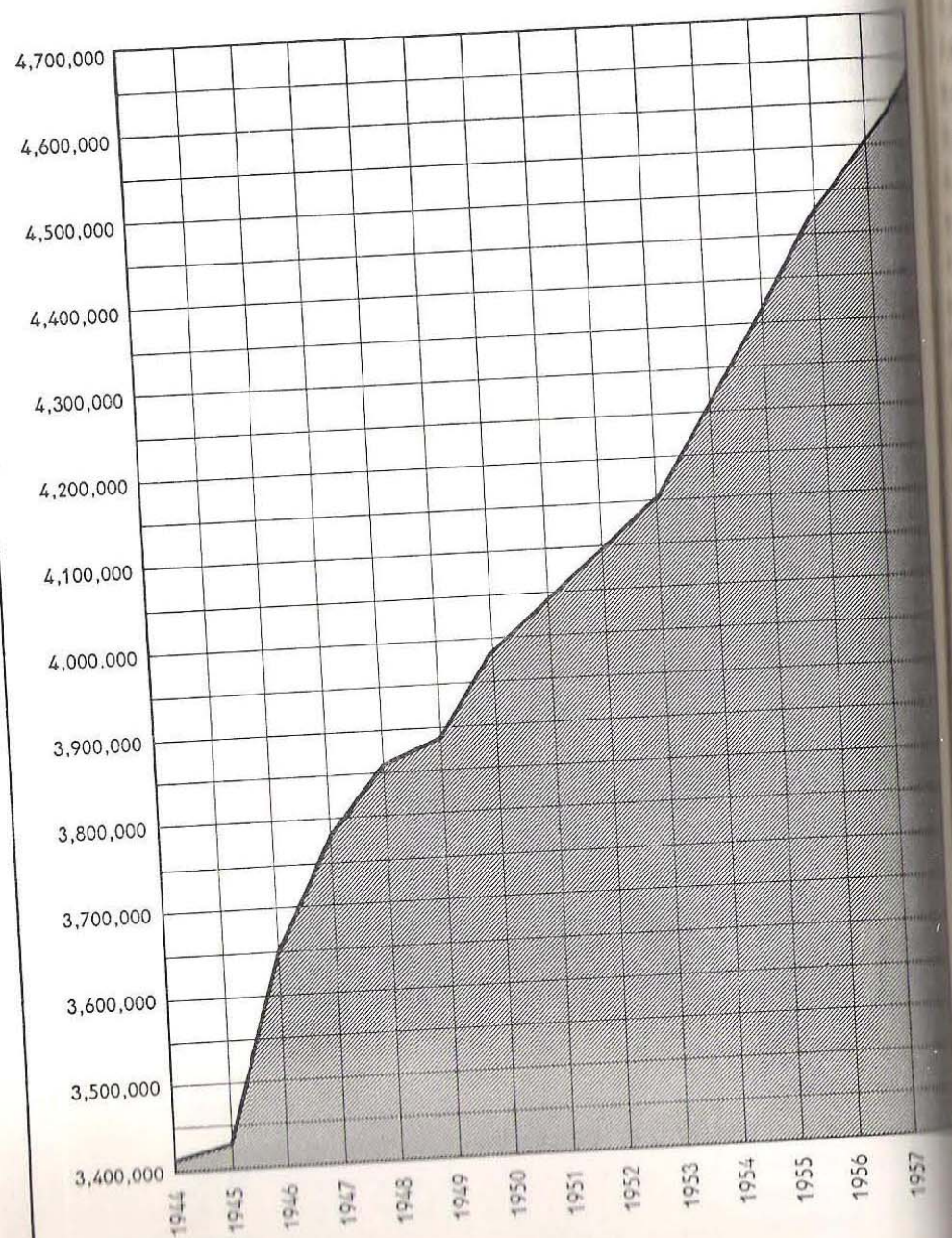
Distribution of this population according to origin:

Congolese	57 %
Rundi	27 %
Rwanda	12 %
Others	4 %

Distribution of this population according to religion:

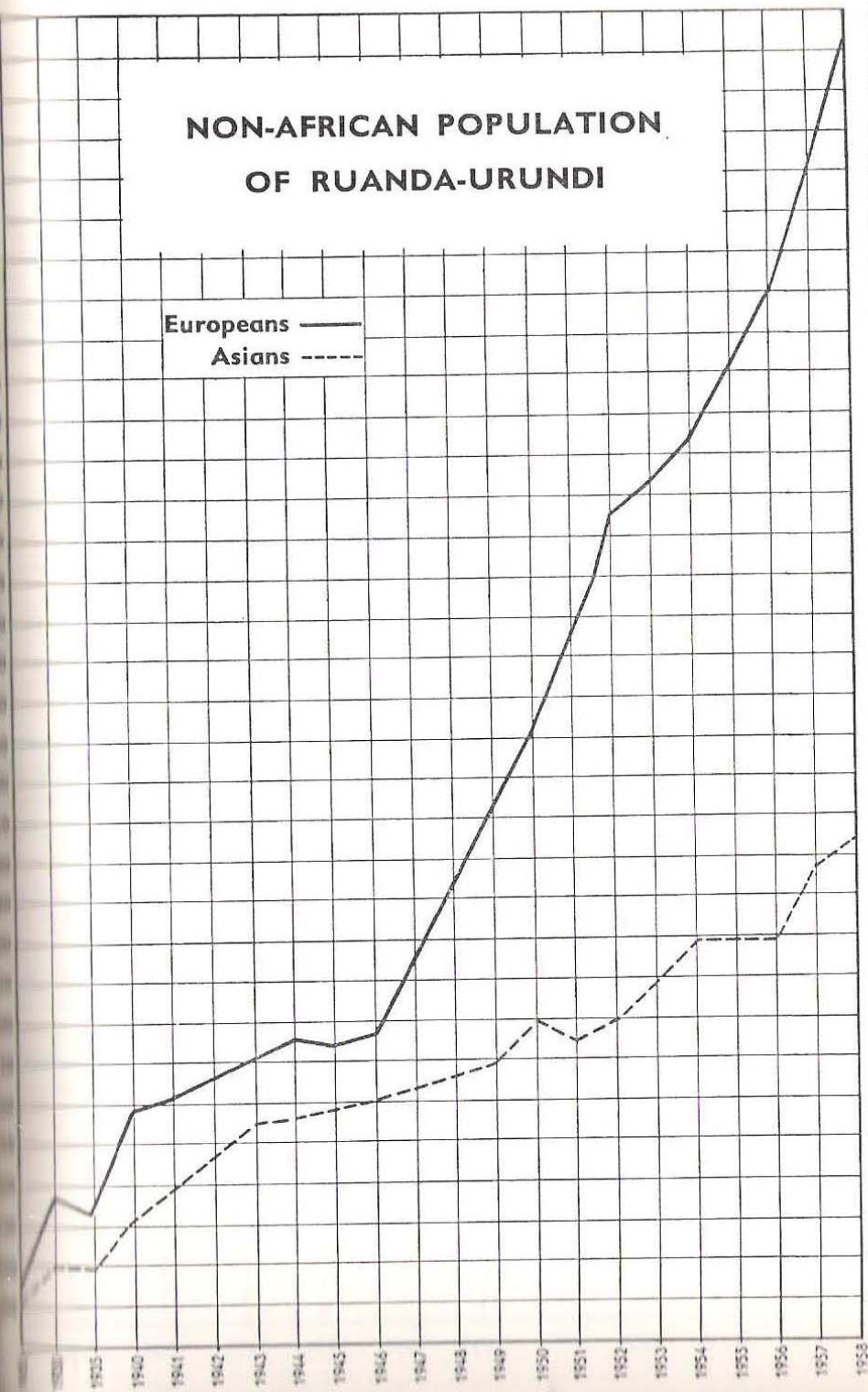
Catholics	51 %
Protestants	7 %
Moslems	26 %
Others	16 %

GLOBAL AFRICAN POPULATION OF RUANDA-URUNDI

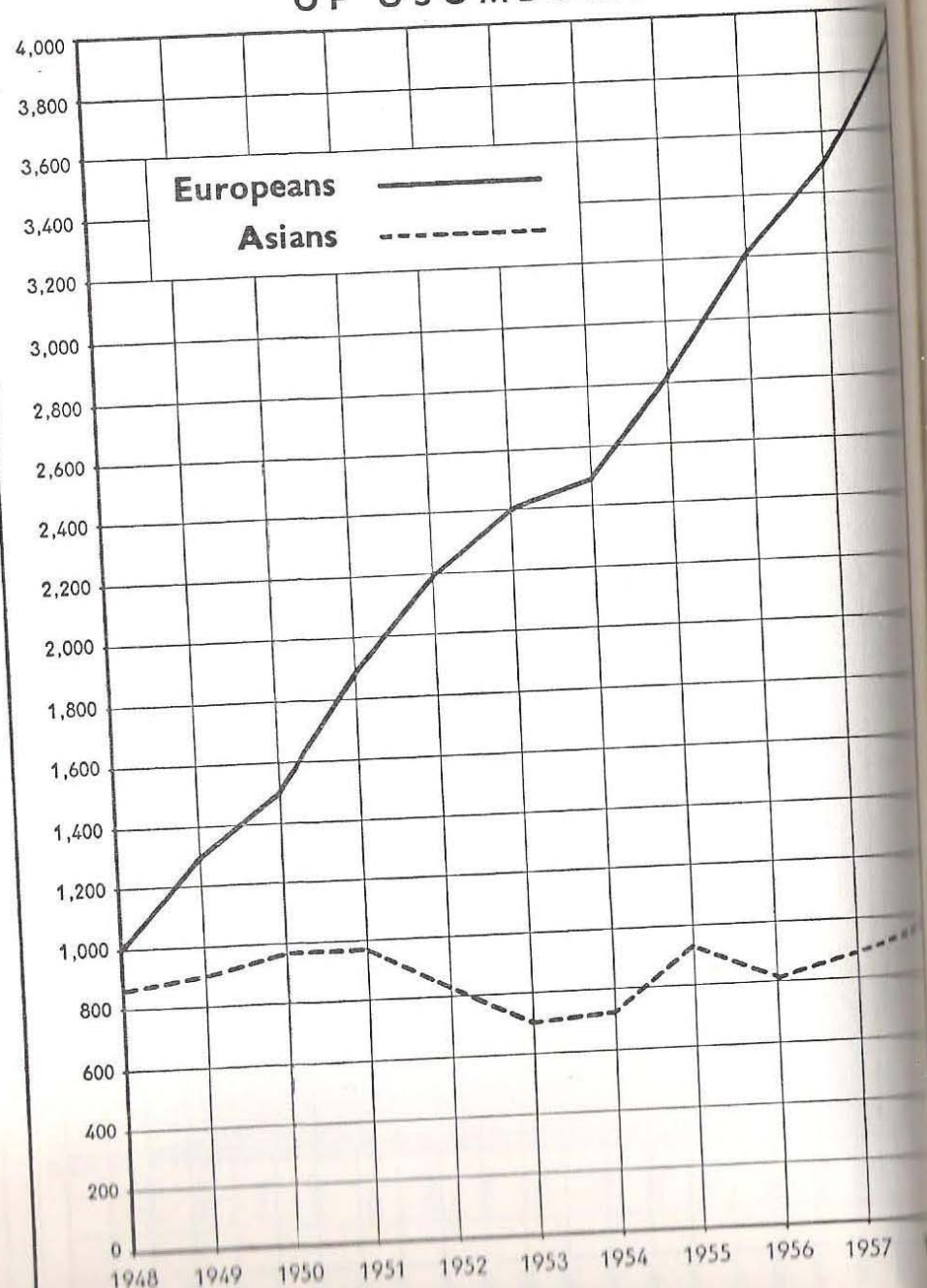


NON-AFRICAN POPULATION OF RUANDA-URUNDI

Europeans —
Asians - - -



NON-AFRICAN POPULATION OF USUMBURA



Europeans.

174. — As of December 31, 1958, there were, in Ruanda-Urundi, 8,064 Europeans: 3,139 men, 2,311 women and 2,614 children. Belgians represent 75 % of this group, while the largest foreign fraction is Greek (about 7 % of the whole.)

175. — From the point of view of distribution by profession, there were 868 missionaries, 835 government agents, 940 company employees, 395 businessmen and company agents, 201 artisans, 132 colonists and agricultural agents, 208 professionals and 43 industrial and mining settlers.

176. — As of the end of 1958, the main localities had respectively :

Usumbura . . .	3,935 Europeans.	975 Asians.
Astrida . . .	469 "	251 "
Kigali . . .	425 "	125 "
Kisenyi . . .	376 "	125 "
Shangugu . .	117 "	— "
Kitega . . .	211 "	79 "
Nyanza . . .	109 "	118 "

Asians.

177. — The 3,112 Asians, of whom 1,794 are men and 1,318 women, include mostly Arabs (55 %), Pakistanis, mostly Ismaelians (25 %) and Indians (17 %); they are almost exclusively engaged in trade. The largest group has settled in Usumbura where, as of December 1958, there were 975.

Métis.

178. — As of December 31, 1958, there were, in Ruanda-Urundi, 862 mulattoes born of European fathers and 651 métis born of Asian fathers.

Non-autochthonous Africans.

Congolese	28,776
British subjects	276
Senegalese	56
Other	1,152

Total . . . 30,260

CHAPTER III

PREHISTORIC TIMES ⁽¹⁾

SUMMARY

The Pebble Culture.
The Chelleo-Acheulian Phase.
The Sangoan Phase.
The Middle Stone Age.
The Late Stone Age.
The Polished Stone Phase.
The Age of Metals.

(1) Mr. Jean Hiernaux, former Rector of the University in Elizabethville and Associate Researcher of IRSAC, is the author of this chapter.

179. — Little is yet known about prehistoric times in Ruanda-Urundi, except for the most recent period.

180. — Although for these most recent periods we draw our knowledge from scientifically conducted excavations, for the remote periods we must draw almost exclusively from material gathered by amateurs which, although we learn much from it, is insufficient to allow us to affirm a sequence of industries and climatic oscillations. We may, however, apply, without risk of going too far astray, the results of studies made in neighboring countries in Uganda and the Congo in particular; this is what will be done here.

THE PEBBLE CULTURE

181. — The oldest human tool known at present is a pebble which has been shaped in a very elementary way. The name of **Pebble Culture** has been given to this phase. Until now, traces of it have been found only in Africa, which justifies the hypothesis that Africa was the cradle of humanity. The most primitive phase of this culture, the Kafuen stage, seems to go back 500,000 years. Many vestiges of this culture have been found in Uganda, particularly in the Kagera valley near the Ruanda border and everything points to its discovery in Ruanda-Urundi as soon as systematic excavations are carried out in the large valleys in the eastern part of the country. If this prediction comes true, it will prove that Ruanda-Urundi was inhabited by Man at the very dawn of his emergence. What was he like at that time? At present it is impossible to answer this question with certainty; perhaps he was a human type resembling the Australopithecus whose fossilized remains were found in South Africa: upright creatures with an apelike face whose brain was hardly more developed than that of certain chimpanzees, but whose dentition belongs to the human type.

THE CHELLEO-ACHEULIAN PHASE

182. — In Africa the Pebble Culture evolved slowly over a long period, probably covering hundreds of thousands of years, into a phase characterized by more elaborate and varied tools. It is, without doubt, anterior to the subsequent phase of human activity, that called Chelleo-Acheulian, after the names of the two places in France, Chelles and Saint-Acheul, where it was discovered for the first time. Man, on this cultural level, occupied Europe as well as Africa, but it is probable that it was from Africa, where we see the Chellean phase replacing the most advanced stages of the Pebble Culture and evolving progressively into the Acheulean phase, that waves of migration toward Europe originated. These migrations occurred during periods when this continent enjoyed

a climate warm enough for a creature who was still unable to struggle against the hardships of the glacial periods.

183. — This "Chelleo-Acheulian" phase, which lasted more than a hundred thousand years, has been discovered at many points in Ruanda-Urundi. Typical tools of this phase — especially fist-hatchets — may be seen at the "Musée du Pays du Ruanda" in Astrida. Here the entire surface of the pieces is shaped, giving the Chellean man cores and small primitive hatchets which will be progressively improved, thanks to more and more precise techniques, until they become the perfectly symmetrical and minutely perfected tools of the Acheulean whose craftsmanship seems to have been concerned to some degree with esthetics as well as with utility.

184. — Until now, there is only one site in the world where it is possible to associate a fossil man and Chelleo-Acheulean tools: this is at Ternifine, in Morocco, where the remains of a being resembling the Pithecanthropus of Java and the Sinanthropus of Peking have been found. If, some day, it becomes legitimate to apply the results of this discovery to Central Africa, Ruanda-Urundi would have long ago been inhabited by Pithecanthropians, those upright creatures with massive, elongated skulls whose brain capacity, although superior to that of the Australopithecus, was still much inferior to the average capacity of present-day Man. No proof has been found until now that these primitive African hunters knew fire any more than did their European contemporaries.

THE SANGOAN PHASE

185. — Out of the final Acheulean phase in Africa grew a series of cultures of which one, the Sangoan culture, has left traces in many places in Ruanda-Urundi. The Astrida site especially has produced beautiful pieces, some of which are on exhibit in the Ruanda Museum: large picks, daggers, hatchets, bolas. It seems that it was at this level that the use of fire made its appearance in Africa. The human types who experienced this great event are practically unknown.

THE MIDDLE STONE AGE

186. — The Sangoan culture is followed by an abundance of industries having regional, even local differences; they are grouped together under the name Middle Stone Age (MSA). Tools grow progressively smaller, many of them are obtained from small chips or splinters. Some of them, beautifully finished, are real jewels. Heads, various types of scrapers, and burins constitute most of the tools.

187. — Rhodesian Man, found in a grotto in Broken Hill, dates back to the beginning of the MSA; he bears a close resemblance to the European Neanderthal. More recent, but also dating back to the MSA,

are the remains of men found in South Africa. These were probably the ancestors of certain present-day African populations such as the Bushmen.

This period, too, is abundantly represented in Ruanda-Urundi.

THE LATE STONE AGE

188. — The diminutive evolution of tool-making gives rise, in many areas of Africa, to cultures called microlithic because all the implements of these cultures are small: this is the Late Stone Age of Anglo-Saxon authors. This period, which has its beginnings thousands of years ago and which came to an end, in several regions, before the eyes of Bantu or European conquerors, is represented in Ruanda-Urundi by the Wiltonian phase, a culture also discovered at many points in eastern and southern Africa. A shelter beneath a rock in the Shangugu territory has brought to light a good collection of tools, chipped mostly out of quartz. No human remains of this period have been deterred in Ruanda-Urundi, whereas in several places in Rhodesia and South Africa, Late Stone Age cultures have been found associated with bones of a human type close to those of the present-day Bushmen. Also totally missing in the Territory are the paintings and rupestral engravings so numerous in the grottos and shelters inhabited by the men of the Rhodesian and South African Late Stone Age.

THE POLISHED STONE PHASE

189. — The polished stone technique, so abundantly represented in certain regions of the Congo, has but lightly touched Ruanda-Urundi: until now, only one polished piece, an axe, has been discovered in Bugesera.

THE AGE OF METALS

190. — The Age of Metals is the last period of the past. Man, having mastered the art of forging, forsook his stone tools. It is probably also at this time that agricultural and stock-breeding techniques appeared in Ruanda-Urundi; nothing in the Wiltonian culture foresaw this development.

191. — Man of the Iron Age appears in Ruanda like an immigrant enjoying a very high stage of evolution. Several hills in the neighborhood of Astrida have revealed many traces of his life there: furnace slag and terra cotta objects. The discovery of countless pieces of pottery have made it possible to reconstitute recipients, striking in their originality. At their base they have a small hollow which keeps them balanced; the edge is carefully beveled; finally, the decoration, done by incision, is surprisingly varied and complicated. Whence does this culture come? It is not exactly known, but one finds it again, almost

identical, in Kenya, Uganda and Kivu. What emphasizes its originality even more is the presence, on several sites in Ruanda and Kivu, of baked bricks some of which are decorated with finger prints on one side. In the Astrida Museum, one may see some on which the fingernail mark remains....

192. — Nothing is known of the appearance of these men who brought the art of metallurgy and pottery, and probably agricultural techniques as well, to Ruanda. What became of them is also unknown. Their culture disappears suddenly; it is followed by a much rougher culture characterized by much coarser pottery, easily recognizable by its edge forming a rim decorated with a small cord-like motif. This pottery has been found on various hills in Ruanda and also in the filling of several grottos. Perhaps its authors were the Renge about whom legend speaks and whom the chapter on History will mention: a population anterior to the Hutu and the Tutsi, partly exterminated and partly absorbed by them.

193. — In any case, we have information about their physical appearance, for an ossuary containing pots of this period was discovered in Ruri, not far from Kabwayi; the skeletons deterred are not significantly different from those of the present-day Hutu. Pots and bones are on exhibit in the Kabwayi Museum.

194. — This last ancient culture is followed by the one which now prevails in the country, and we leave the field of prehistory for that of history and ethnography.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY OF RUANDA AND OF URUNDI

SUMMARY

Origin of the Populations.
History of Ruanda.
History of Urundi.

ORIGIN OF THE POPULATIONS

195. — The populations of Ruanda-Urundi belong to three different physical branches: the Ethiopid Tutsi, the Negroid Hutu and the Pygmoid Twa. This physical fact makes possible the affirmation that those three present-day groups have different origins. The Twa are related to the Pygmies of the Congo and probably settled the country a very long time ago. The Hutu are culturally related to the Bantu of the other interlacustrine kingdoms, but we have no indication whatever concerning their place of origin which some say is in east Africa and others in central Africa. The only known fact is that they occupied the country before the arrival of the Tutsi who adopted their language and the major part of their culture.

196. — The Tutsi are related to the Hima or Hema who make up the ruling cast in all the interlacustrine kingdoms, from Bunyoro to Buha. The oral traditions of all these States indicate that the Ethiopid caste comes from the Kitara kingdom, situated between Lake Albert and the Victoria Nile. Formerly they might have come from countries situated to the east of the Victoria Nile. Physical anthropology makes it possible to go even further and to declare that their earliest origin must be in Ethiopia. The immigration of the first Ethiopids must have certainly taken place before the fifteenth century.

Little by little these early Hima, nomadic herders, settled the country, enslaved the natives and founded several small states without much internal cohesion. Their culture and way of life have been preserved by some groups of present-day Hima in Mutara. Another invasion from the east, about twenty-three generations ago, brought the Cwezi to Uganda. According to oral tradition, this tribe enjoyed a level of culture much higher than that of the Hima. This fact has been confirmed by the archeological excavations at Bigo and Mubende Hill which revealed veritable fortresses covering a large area. The Cwezi founded an empire embracing most of modern Uganda and of the western shore of Lake Victoria. Although it is not certain that these Cwezi were Ethiopid, this may be presumed. Tradition describes them as very tall and very light skinned.

197. — Four generations after their arrival, their kingdom disintegrated beneath the shock of a Nilotic invasion from the north. The invaders, under the name of Bito, became masters of the Bunyoro kingdom. Buganda, Nkore and the other dependencies of the Cwezi empire became independent. As for the Cwezi, it is said that they fled southward and certain signs lead one to believe that they remained in Buha and Urundi. The Kiranga or Ryangombe cult would be partially a cult of the Cwezi ancestors.

198. — At the dawn of history, probably in the fourteenth century, several Ethiopid kingdoms and principalities occupied eastern Ruanda. The oldest ones were Karagwe, Bugufi and Mubari. Afterwards, Ndorwa, Bugesera and Gisaka were born. When Gihanga, the first mythical king of Ruanda, came, these States were occupying the entire eastern portion of present-day Ruanda. Gihanga crossed Mubari and settled in Gasabo at the southwestern tip of Lake Muhazi, between Gisaka and Bugesera. Bugesera and native principalities extended westward from the lake; the main one was the Renge kingdom which supposedly bequeathed the customs regarding the organization of the State and the divine royalty to Gihanga. The dynastic genealogy names eleven mythical successors who supposedly succeeded Gihanga in Gasabo. Although it is based more on myth than on history, one can deduce that Ruanda was, for a long time, a small chieftaincy on the shores of Lake Muhazi.

199. — The recent history of Ruanda has, moreover, left reminiscences of the last petty Hutu kings, heads of small principalities based on the clan, representatives of the ancestors, magicians having power over the earth's fertility (they were called Bahinza, those who make grow), who "had the power to make rain fall, to chase away the crop-destroying insects, to pass on a germinating power to seeds, to ward off insects, cattle parasites and to cause numerous and healthy calves to be born thanks to their occult science" (1). Afterwards, these principalities were conquered and annihilated by the Tutsi invaders.

200. — Tradition becomes more explicit with the so-called historic kings. Thanks to Court historians and to dynastic poets (beginning with the reign of Ruganzu II), we have in our possession very complete information concerning the later development of the kingdom. The country's history may be divided up into four later periods. During the first, central Ruanda is conquered. During the second, all the provinces west of the Congo-Nile ridge are annexed. The third period is that of the destruction and annexion of the eastern Ethiopid kingdoms.

201. — Ruganzu I, the first historic king, had to defend his country against attempts by Gisaka to annex it. He was killed during a defensive war against this country. Cyirima I, his son, crossed Nyabarongo in order to conquer a Hutu kingdom, west of the river, in present-day Rukoma. His army was vanquished and it was only after a second twenty-four hour battle that he was victorious, under the leadership of Kigeri I, the heir to the throne. Kigeri's successor, Mibambwe I, annexed Nduga whose Hutu sovereign Mashira had just incorporated the Renge kingdom into his states. In this way Ruanda secured the entire region encircled by the Nyabarongo loop. During this reign, the country was attacked

(1) "Historique et Chronologique du Ruanda", Kabwayi, 1955.

twice by the Nyoro. Mibambwe had to flee and could return only after their departure. It is said that it was this king who set up a centralized monarchy and put an end to the power of the important vassals. Yuhi II, Mibambwe's son, made no great conquests. He successfully raided Mubari, the weakest of the neighboring Ethiopid states.

202. — During this first part of its history, Ruanda expanded westward. But Gisaka had occupied the entire periphery of Lake Muhazi and the Kigali region itself to the detriment of Ruanda and Bugesera. Ndorwa also extended westward. The Mubari kingdom, attacked by Gisaka, Ndorwa and Ruanda, underwent a period of decline and embraced an area no larger than that bearing its name.

203. — The second period in the history of Ruanda includes the reigns of the following four sovereigns. Ndahiro II had to fight his half-brother Juru who, supported by Bunyabungo and Bugara, coveted the throne. Ndahiro was killed during a battle against Ntsibura, chief of Bunyabungo. His heir had to flee to Karagwe, and Ruanda was divided. Ntsibura occupied the portion west of Nyabarongo and Juru kept the rest. But Ruganzu II, the heir, returned to Ruanda, defeated and killed the kings of Bugara and Bunyabungo and Juru, restored the dynastic power and began to conquer the entire region between the Congo-Nile ridge and Lake Kivu. He also occupied the island of Idjwi. His successors, Mutara II, who annexed Bungwe, and Kigeri II, who conquered the areas located between the volcanoes and the Congolese forest as far as Lake Edward, brought his task to a close. The country had reached its natural borders in the west.

204. — Ruanda became a powerful state during this era. Only Urundi and Ndorwa, which were also expanding, remained dangerous enemies. Gisaka began a period of regression and did not participate in the conquests of neighboring countries. Data are lacking concerning Bugesera which remained a powerful state. The Hutu principalities were no obstacle whatever to Ruanda and were absorbed into the kingdom one after the other. It seems that Mutara reorganized the internal political structure of the country in order to adapt it to its expansion. Unfortunately, the details of this reorganization remain unknown.

205. — Under the reign of the following seven Bami, conquests continued and the other Ethiopid kingdoms, with the exception of Urundi, were vanquished and annexed. Under Mibwambwe II, successor of Kigeri II, Ntare III of Urundi raided the southern border of Ruanda. Since the conquest of Bungwe, these two countries had, in fact, become neighbors. Yuhi III, son of Mibambwe II, had to defend himself against the attacks of Ntare III, who occupied Bungwe and ravaged the country as far as Rusenyi, in the present-day territory of Kibuye. But Ntare died during the campaign and his warriors returned home. Cyirima II,

successor to Yuhi III, took the offensive, beat the opponent near Save and killed Mutaga III, sovereign of Urundi. Thus he reconquered Bungwe and took Buyenzi away from his enemy. This battle put an end to the northward expansion of Urundi. Kigeri III, the following Mwami, conquered Ndorwa which, also attacked by Nkore, was divided between Nkore and Ruanda. The same Mwami put an end to the Mubari dynasty by occupying that country as well. Ruanda became so powerful that its armies raided Nkore and even Bumpaka, east of Lake Edward, with impunity. But under the reign of Mibambwe III, Ndorwa recovered its independence. This Mwami struggled throughout his reign against his brother Gatarabuhura, competitor for the throne. He took advantage, however, of the defeat inflicted by Urundi and Buha on Bugesera and incorporated the greater part of this country into his kingdom. His son, Yuhi IV, overcame Gatarabuhura and reconquered Ndorwa. Moreover, he consolidated the western borders of the country by making war in Buhunde and against Bunyabungo. His successor, Mutara II, annexed Gisaka, weakened by the division of the kingdom between the sons of Kimenyi IV Getura, contemporary of Mibambwe III and by the expeditions carried on against the country since the reign of this sovereign.

206. — At the end of this period Ruanda acquired its present-day borders. Its northern neighbor is Nkore, its southern one Urundi which has become as powerful a state as Ruanda. Independent Ruanda's fourth and last period shows that Kigeri IV's warlike valor and the success of his expeditions did not lead the country to expand, because the country had already become oversized and because of the power of Urundi.

207. — Kigeri IV was an indefatigable warrior. He ravaged the principalities west of Lake Kivu, led expeditions against Nkore, which he completely vanquished, and thought of invading Urundi. But he dared not do this, fearing the power of Mwezi IV, also a valiant warrior. All this campaigns brought no lasting advantages. The end of the reign bore witness to the arrival of the Europeans. Mibambwe IV, his son, was killed in "a coup d'état" and replaced by Yuhi V Musinga, another of his sons. Two years after he took the throne, German troops founded the military station of Usumbura and the Reich actually occupied the country. The Mwami accepted German suzerainty and Ruanda became dependent.

THE HISTORY OF URUNDI

208. — Little is yet known of the history of Urundi. This is mainly because the court here did not maintain official historians or poets and that the kingdom was less centralized than that of Ruanda, facts which did not encourage the development of a rich and precise oral tradition.

209. — According to certain traditions, the Bami of Urundi are descended from Ruhinda, king of Karagwe and of Nkore. But, as this name arises frequently in the genealogies of the interlacustrine kingdoms, nothing makes it possible for us to know whether the Ruhinda in question is the same person in all cases. Another tradition maintains that the dynasty is descended from Ndoba, one of the mythical kings of Ruanda. Finally, a third tradition claims that the sovereigns of Urundi come from Buha, whence they are said to have proceeded northward.

210. — Ntare I Rushatsi founded the dynasty. His country then stretched between Bugufi to the east, the Ruvubu River, border with Buha to the south, and Bugesera to the north. The country's western frontier is not known. Ntare II Kibogora or Bijangari attacked Bugesera which received aid from Ruganzu II Ndori of Ruanda. During the reign of his successor Mwezi II, a struggle which lasted a long time was carried on among competitors for the throne. Ntare III Kivimira made war on Ruanda and conquered Bungwe. His son, Mutaga III, was killed on the battlefield at Save and Ruanda annexed Bungwe and Buyenzi. His successor, Mwambutsa III, lived but a short time. At his death, Ntare IV had to fight against Bugesera. Nsoro IV, king of this country, defeated him and he had to flee to Buha. But he returned and destroyed the army of Bugesera at Mbuye. The country was divided between Urundi and Ruanda. The same Mwami conquered Buha and annexed Buyogoma and probably Mozo. He, or one of his predecessors, annexed Bugufi. Mwezi IV, his son, was also a great warrior. He finished the conquest of Buyogoma and on this occasion defeated Mirambo, chief of Bunyamwezi and ally of the king of Buha. He reconquered Bugufi, conquered the Ngoni Watuta around 1850 and defeated a troupe of Arabs sent by Rumliza, Sultan of Kigoma, around 1885. Moreover, he made war on the kings of Bushubi and Uswi. (This last king, moreover, seized a portion of Buyogoma.) Finally throughout his reign he had to defend himself against various pretenders to the throne, the most powerful of whom was Kirima, who occupied the north-western part of the country and who was supported by Kigeri IV of Ruanda.

211. — In 1895, German columns crossed the country and, following an attack against the Bethe column in 1899, the Government decided to occupy the country. But it was not until 1903 that Mwezi IV surrendered.

212. — Such are the facts mentioned by tradition. It tells us nothing, however, of the conquests of the Hutu principalities and of the kingdom's expansion westward. It is probable, however, that such an expansion did take place and that Urundi did not attack her Ethiopian neighbors until after the conquest of the Hutu principalities.

List of the Bami of Ruanda.

Ruganzu I Bwimba;
Cyirima I Rugwe;
Kigeri I Mukobanya;
Mibambwe I Sekarongoro I Mutabazi I;
Yuhi II Gahima II;
Ndahiro II Cyamatare;
Ruganzu II Ndori;
Mutara I Nsoro II;
Kigeri II Nyamuheshera;
Mibambwe II Sekarongoro II Gisanura;
Yuhi III Mazimpaka;
Cyirima II Rujugira;
Kigeri III Ndabarasa;
Mibambwe III Mutabazi II Sentabyo;
Yuhi IV Gahindiro;
Mutara II Rwogera;
Kigeri IV Rwabugiri (1853-1895);
Mibambwe IV Rutarindwa (1895-1896);
Yuhi V Musinga (1896-1931);
Mutara III Rudahigwa (1931-1959);
Kigeri V Ndahindurwa (invested in 1959).

List of the Bami of Urundi.

Ntare I Rushatsi (contemporary of Mibambwe I Mutabazi of Ruanda);
Mwezi I ?
Mutaga I ?
Mwambutsa I ?
Ntare II Kibogora or Bijangari (contemporary of Ruganzu II Ndori);
Mwezi II;
Mutaga II ?
Mwambutsa II ?
Ntare III Kivimira (contemporary of Mibambwe II Gisanura and of Yuhi III Mazimpaka);
Mwezi III ?
Mutaga III Sebitungwa or Semwiza (contemporary of Cyirima II Rujugira);
Mwambutsa III;
Ntare IV Rugamba (contemporary of Yuhi IV Gahindiro);
Mwezi IV Gisabo (1908);
Mutaga IV (1908-1915);
Mwambutsa IV (1915 until the present).

CHAPTER V

PRESENT-DAY RUANDA-URUNDI

SUMMARY

Discovery.
German Occupation.
Belgian Mandate.
Belgian Trusteeship.

DISCOVERY

213. — The discovery of the great lakes and of Ruanda-Urundi at the end of the nineteenth century provided the key to one of the most fascinating unknowns of geographical research: the headwaters of the Nile, veritable Holy Grail of geographers since Ptolemy, were uncovered in the heart of the legendary Mountains of the Moon.

214. — Burton and Speke arrived together at Lake Tanganyika in 1858, after which Speke discovered Lake Victoria in 1862 and Baker two years later explored Lake Albert; but the mysterious Nile intrigued Livingstone and Stanley who, during their exploration of the northern part of Lake Tanganyika in 1871, reached a point about ten miles from the place where Usumbura is now situated. A monument commemorates this event. Stanley also explored the Kagera River in 1879 and reached the boundary of the Gisaka region without being able to enter it.

215. — Hardly sixty years have passed since the earliest explorers crossed the country. In 1892, Dr. Baumann arrived in the heart of Urundi by following the Ruvubu. Two years later, Count von Götzen crossed Ruanda from east to west, met Mwami Kigeri Rwabugiri at Kageyo on the Congo-Nile ridge in the Kisenyi Kingogo, and reached Lake Kivu whence he may his way to the Congo River. The expeditions of Ramsay and von Trotha, Ramsay and Lengheld, von Bethe and Richard Kandt also took place during the last years of the century.

216. — In 1938, Dr. Kurkhart Waldecker erected a pyramid at the southernmost source of the Nile: it was dedicated "to all those who, since the time of the ancient Egyptians, have sought the source of the Nile". This monument is located in the Rutana Territory, near the Rutovu mission.

217. — As early as 1879 several expeditions of missionaries of Cardinal Lavigerie had already ventured along the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika; one of them was massacred at Rumonge in 1881. The first missions were founded in Muyaga and Mugeru in Urundi (1898-1899); and in Save, Zaza and Nyundo in Ruanda (1900-1901). Five years later new posts were created: Buhonga and Kanyinya in Urundi; Rwaza, Mibirizi and Kabwayi in Ruanda. In 1912, the Kivu-Ruanda-Urundi Vicariate was founded and Mgr Hirth, first apostolic vicar of the two countries, settled in Kabwayi which became the spiritual center of the Territory. The Protestant missions set up their first posts in Kirinda and Rubengeru in 1907 and 1908.

GERMAN OCCUPATION

218. — In the meantime the Germans, whose zone of influence, as defined by the Berlin Conference of 1885, included Ruanda-Urundi, founded the Usumbura military station in 1897. As early as 1907, Ruanda became a distinct residence, the seat of which was established in Kigali; its most outstanding representative was Dr. Kandt, author of the famous work "Caput Nili".

219. — In 1912 the seat of the Urundi Residence was transferred from Usumbura to Kitega. On the eve of the first World War, Governor Schnee pointed out in a report that "the history of Urundi since the beginning of the German occupation is, unfortunately, unsatisfactory and is in contrast with the peaceful and pleasant state of affairs in Ruanda". Whereas the relations between Yuhi Musinga, Mwami of Ruanda (1896-1931) and Captain von Bethe at first and Dr. Kandt later, were relatively peaceful, this was not the case in Urundi where there were constant struggles and rivalries between the Bami Mwezi Gisabo (died 1908) and Mutaga (1908-1915) and their powerful vassals; the residents von Grawert, von Beringe and Langenn, among others, sometimes sided with the Mwami, and sometimes with the dissidents and carried on a very inconsistent policy which was often in contradiction with the instructions sent them by the governors of East Africa. When the Belgian troupes reached Urundi they found the country in the prey of dissension and the young Mwami Mwambutsa, who had just succeeded Mutaga, exposed to court intrigues.

BELGIAN MANDATE

220. — In 1916, Belgian troupes, interrupting a long defensive period forced on them by the German assailant, master of Lake Tanganyika and superior to them in number and equipment, entered Ruanda in two converging columns which, after successful battles, occupied all of Ruanda-Urundi. On June 6, the Belgians entered Kigali and then continued the campaign as far as Tabora, capital of German East Africa. The name of General Tombeur will remain linked to this conquest which was won at the price of a difficult campaign during which the Germans, led by energetic chiefs, put up very strong resistance.

221. — In 1919, the Supreme Council of Allied Powers assigned the Ruanda-Urundi mandate to Belgium and the terms of this agreement were confirmed in 1923 by the League of Nations and finally approved by the Belgian Parlement in 1924. The fundamental law of Ruanda-Urundi, which followed this agreement, bears the date August 21, 1925.

222. — The Germans left a rather poor record of their sixteen years of administration: one cannot speak of colonization, but at the very most, of a military occupation which was limited to pacification and security measures. The number of European military men and civil

servants represented hardly more than ten units; no modification of the native social organization was carried out: the arbitrary power of the native aristocracy was not in the least affected; finally, a census was never made, nor were taxes imposed nor economic expansion carried on.

223. — The Belgians immediately imposed a coherent administrative system which respected the native political organization in so far as it did not contain provisions contrary to universal public order.

224. — The first Royal High Commissioner, General Malfeyt, took up his duties in 1917. Three years later, the Vice-Governor General Marzorati succeeded him and remained in office until 1930, a decisive year because of the application of the reorganization program worked out by Governor Voisin. In the meantime, Mr. Ryckmans, Resident of Urundi, asserted his influence; he later became Governor General of the former Belgian Congo and finally Belgian representative to the United Nations.

225. — In 1917 the arbitrary power of the Bami and of the native authorities was abolished and several important reforms were carried out. Some of these were, for instance, the suppression of domestic slavery in 1923 and the abolition of the triple hierarchy of native authorities in 1926: the chief of crops, that of pastures and that of armed units, all of whom were replaced by a single authority. Both residences had been maintained and the number of territories was growing.

226. — Although Ruanda-Urundi thus truly entered the circuit of western civilization as soon as the war was over, it was not until 1930 that real political and economic development began with the realization of the vast program conceived by Governor Voisin: regrouping of chiefdoms, intensification of farming to check periodic famines and scarcities, introduction of the coffee crop, improvement of cattle, intensive reforestation of the eroded hills, mining prospection and the earliest attempts to work mines, construction of an adequate network of roads, reorganization of trade.

227. — This same year also marks a turning point in the organization of educational institutions: the Astrida Scholastic Group, which began to function as an administrative school in 1929, rapidly added new sections.

228. — Missionary evangelization also became more intensive: in 1922, two vicariates were founded with Mgr Gorju (Urundi) and Mgr Classe (Ruanda) in charge. Mgr Grauls succeeded the former in 1937 and Mgr Deprimoz the latter in 1943.

229. — In Urundi, the regency was abolished and Mwami Mwambi inaugurated a long reign; as for Yuhi Musinga, his attitude toward the administrative authorities and the missions was a major obstacle to the progress of his people on the road to civilization. In 1931, he was

relegated to Kamembe (Shangugu), then to Moba in the former Belgian Congo where he died in 1940. His son, Rudahigwa, succeeded him under the dynastic name of Mutara. His unexpected death on July 25, 1959 has just brought his long reign to a close. The brother of the deceased, Ndahindurwa, has succeeded him under the dynastic name of Kigeri V.

230. — H. R. H. Prince Leopold visited Ruanda-Urundi in 1925 and 1933.

231. — The Territory experienced a period of continuous development until the end of the war in 1945. At this time, Vice-Governor General Jungers had been guiding its destiny for almost fourteen years and many reforms were carried out under his impetus. As early as 1924, certain native prestations were abolished; others were regulated in 1932; little by little, it was required that these prestations be bought back. Native justice, which underwent some organization in 1926, was completely reformed ten years later and the administrative funds of the chiefdoms set up. In 1943, legislative enactments 347 and 348/AIMO provided a new reorganization of the native districts and jurisdictions.

BELGIAN TRUSTEESHIP

232. — For four years Ruanda-Urundi contributed to the war effort of the allied nations. At the end of the conflict, the United Nations made this country a Trust Territory thus ending the mandate. On December 13, 1946, the General Assembly of the United Nations approved the Trusteeship Agreement for the Territory. In 1948 the relations between the United Nations Organization and Ruanda-Urundi became effective and the Territory received the first visit of a Trusteeship Council mission. On April 25, 1949 a law was decreed approving the Trusteeship Agreement. Belgium assumed the responsibility of the political, social and economic development of the Territory in order to guide it to autonomy in good time. Since then, a Trusteeship Council mission has been visiting Ruanda-Urundi every three years in order to appraise the progress achieved.

233. — The Governors Simon, Pétillon, Claeys Bouüaert and Harroy successfully carried on the task of their predecessors. Mr. Pétillon, who became Governor General of the former Belgian Congo in 1952 was especially the initiator of the Ten-Year-Plan (1951), the realization of which is now taking place and which constitutes an important landmark in the Territory's development.

234. — In 1947, the Prince-Regent Charles visited Ruanda-Urundi; eight years later King Baudouin I made his triumphant tour throughout Belgium's African territories (1955).

235. — In 1949 and 1950 the Bami and other native public figures visited Belgium for the first time; this was the time when the metropolis was showing growing interest in African affairs. These voyages will be repeated later and their benefits will be extended not only to

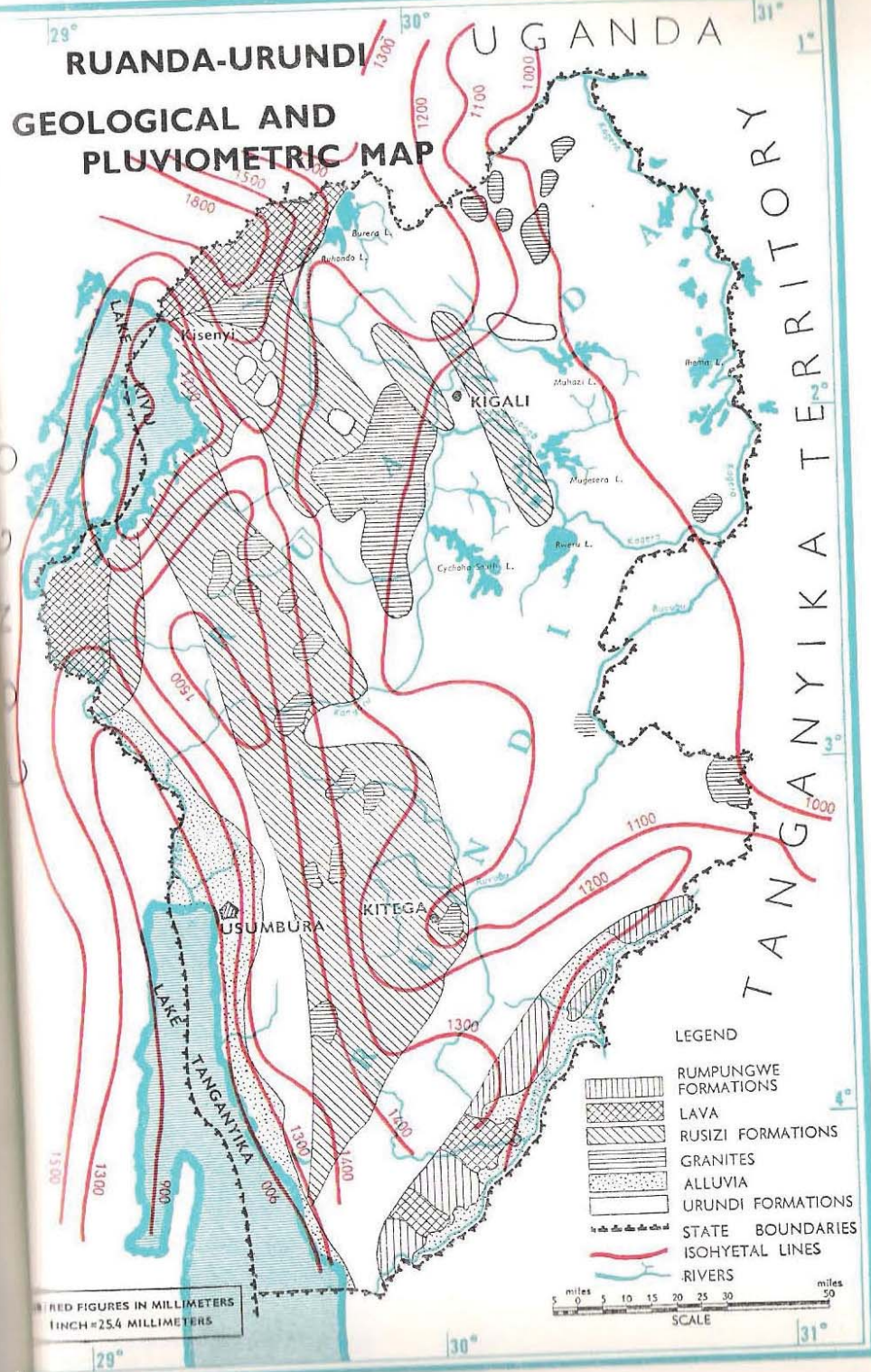
chiefs, but also to educated natives, to government workers who wish to improve their training, to representatives of the middle classes now emerging, and finally to young people who will complete a cycle of studies on the university level or a series of specialized courses.

236. — Missionary expansion has continued during recent years through the establishment of two archdioceses, one in Kabgayi for Ruanda, the other in Kitega for Urundi and three dioceses, one at Nyundo in Ruanda, the two others at Ngozi and Usumbura in Urundi; these replaced the former Apostolic Vicariates. There are two native bishops: Mgr. Birirumwami in Nyundo and Mgr. Ntuyabaga in Usumbura.

237. — A new political organization was inaugurated by the decree of July 14, 1952. This decree established the hierarchy of sub-chieftaincy, chieftaincy, territorial and country councils. In 1956, at the end of the meeting of the first legislature, these councils were renewed on the basis of a popular vote in which all the adult men participated.

238. — In 1957, the Council of the General Vice-Government, highest consultative assembly of the Territory, was replaced by a General Council of which the representation was extended and the composition based on more democratic criteria. This same year the University in Elizabethville opened its Agronomical and Zootechnical Institute in Astrida. On November 10, 1959, the Belgian Government issued a declaration concerning the political future of the Trusteeship Territory. November 1959 is a landmark and turning point in the history of Ruanda, the social revolution having overthrown the ancient forms of traditional government. The year 1960 witnessed the following events: May 30-June 7: Colloquy on Ruanda; July: communal (local) elections; October 26: installation of a council of 48 members as well as a provisional government. In 1960, Urundi underwent a political awakening: more than twenty political parties were formed, a temporary commission replaced the Higher Council of the country; the Colloquy on Urundi was held in Brussels from August 23 to 31 and communal (local) elections took place from November 15 to December 8. In December colloquys on both Ruanda and Urundi were held during which the problems relative to the legislative elections and the period of autonomy preceding independence were discussed.

In October 1960, two university departments were opened in Usumbura, one in the field of philosophy and letters, social, economic and administrative sciences, the other in the teaching of various scientific and agricultural disciplines.



UGANDA



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